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V-Bombs on New York?

From the katy-did, katy-didn't argument between Admiral Ingram and the Navy Department (one wonders just who is carrying the ball for the latter entity) this much emerges—that it is mechanically possible for the Germans to launch V-bombs against our East Coast, but it is not very likely they will try it. Throughout the war this particular generation of Germans has steadfastly refused to do anything for token purposes, and the reaction-driven weapon has not in either of its forms reached the state where it can be used for anything but token purposes in transatlantic operations.

Its technical development is, in fact, at about the same stage as that attained by the airplane during the last war, an analogy which clarifies both the future of the new weapon and its present military significance. It is hopelessly inaccurate and dangerous to operate (so were the early bombers); and like them, it can be extremely formidable to concentrations, whether of men or supplies or ammunition. The almost inevitable effect of the weapon will be to impose upon the back areas of war, clear down to factories, the same dispersion that has overtaken the immediate battle areas, since there is no visible possibility of finding a defense, even by going underground, against a missile with the penetrative power of V-2.

The New Strategy

The V-weapons, in fact, place everything within four or five hundred miles under direct artillery attack, and when they have been given the accuracy which is the obvious next technical advance, will eliminate the airplane from that range of operation save as a weapon of special opportunity. The air-force people aren't going to like this (they are reported already conducting their private offensive against the new weapon behind the closed doors of the Ordnance Department), but there is another analogy which makes it clear what a losing battle they are fighting. Down at least to the coming of the rifled musket, the longbow was superior to any hand-gun in range, penetrating power, accuracy and speed of operation (Benjamin Franklin proposed to arm the Pennsylvania Line with bows), but, like the airplane, the bow required a long period of training before it could be used at all, while any person of ordinary intelligence could become a reasonably good gunner within a week—as with the V-bombs. War is always highly selective in favor of the easier weapon to use.

Not So Cheap

The Japs ought to acquaint themselves with the more recent developments in supplying troops across a beachhead. It is evident that General MacArthur and the navy achieved a surprise where no surprise was possible by going in across the open beaches at the south end of Lingayen Gulf while the enemy expected an effort against the port at San Fernando, farther to the north, and even reported beating off an attack against that place which was quite evidently a feint. The first and, in many ways, the easiest step toward the recovery of Luzon has thus been successfully taken, though it looks as though the affair were by no means the easy victory the MacArthur communiqués make out. A heavily censored dispatch to The New York Times from the "leading ship of the bombardment group" speaks of the heroism of a shipfitter who "entered the shell deck of the big gun turret directly

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hit the previous day" and then of a "second hit," with fire in the turret. A bombardment group usually comprises battleships with some of the heaviest armor afloat; if the Japs were carrying fire through that armor into the turret, their defense against the Luzon landing may have been a lot stouter and more costly to us than most people have been led to believe.

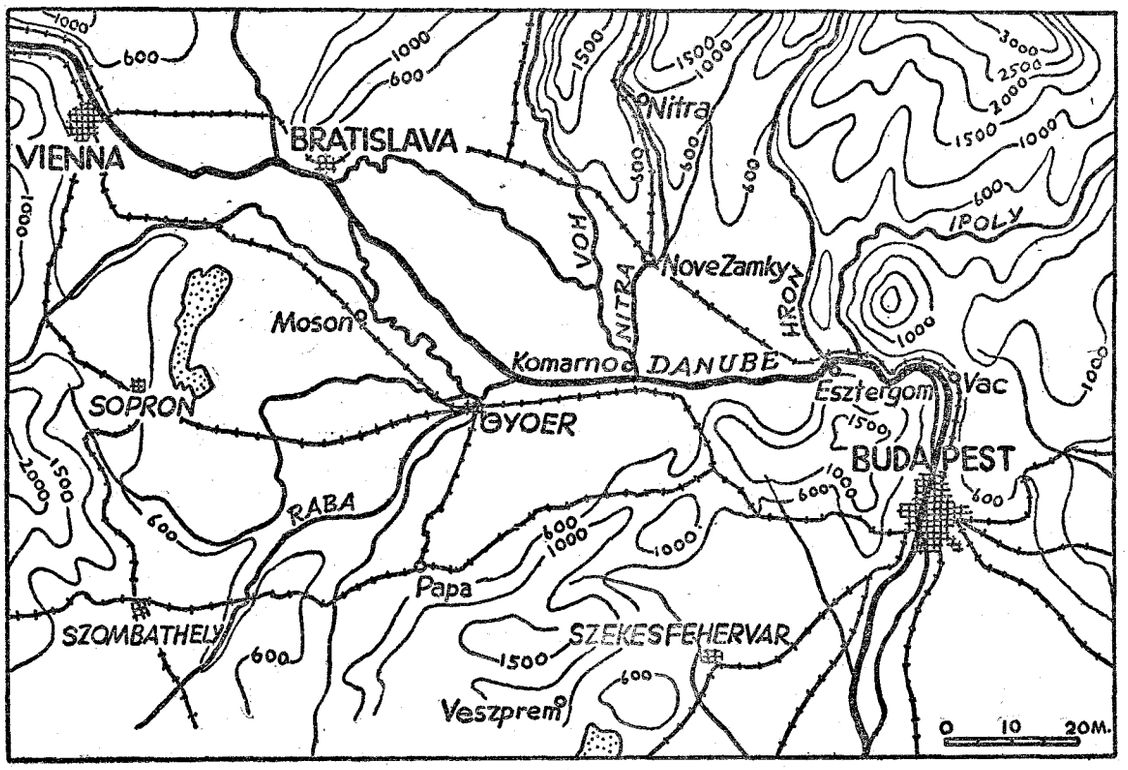
Too Much Optimism

Perhaps the pay-off on the whole matter of news from the front was furnished by Laborite George Strauss's question in Parliament this week as to whether the British War Secretary was aware that "censors attached to the Supreme Headquarters have been given instructions to pass only those communications from front-line war correspondents that state the Allied progress has been good." Is it true? The Secretary did not reply; but the complexion of the dispatches bears out the question. They continue to talk about the reduction of the Ardennes bulge in terms of achievement, whereas a glance at the daily maps shows that the Allies have nowhere penetrated the German lines and nowhere really disturbed the orderly retreat von Rundstedt is making. When his drive for the Meuse failed, the Nazi commander's position in the Ardennes ceased to have any but the negative value that the Allied command was forced to use its mass of maneuver to eliminate the bulge and restore communications between the northern and southern groups of armies.

The Germans took the logical step of leaving behind rearguards strong enough to make that task a long and difficult one, while they employed their own mass of maneuver in Alsace. Actually, the Germans have gained more ground and more useful positions there than we have around the flanks of the bulge during the two operations; and they are still making the decisions as to where and on what terms the battles on the western front shall be fought.

The Russians Are Professionals

Compare this with Hungary, where the Germans' counter-attack for the relief of Budapest has signally failed, and with Poland, where in spite of the fact that an offensive from the Sandomiercz bridgehead was to be expected, it has broken through. The difference is not really between the competence of the Russian generals and our own; it is fundamentally the difference between a professional army and one in which very few troops or officers have as much as six months' combat experience. The defeats and casualties in the West are in the long run nothing more than the



Old Theme with Variations

In the days when the Turks were the Eastern power driving up the Danube, they twice attempted Vienna, each time operating along the south bank for reasons obvious from the above map —instead of having to carry successive lines of ridges, they could operate across open plains especially favorable to an army strong in the mobile element, which was then cavalry. A great deal of the German difficulty and the Russian success in this area is due to the fact that the Nazis expected their adversaries to follow the historical precedent, while the Soviets actually worked across the physically difficult but poorly defended ridges to the north. (The elevations shown on the map are in feet.)

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price we have to pay for beginning the war in 1942 instead of ten years earlier, when Hitler began it.

Balance Sheet on Greece

The Greek civil war and British military intervention in Greece centered in one issue, and one issue only, that of monarchy. The appointment of Archbishop Damaskinos as Regent and the resignation of the British-supported Prime Minister Papandreou more than justify the resistance of the Greek National Liberation Movement to British dictation. As radical Dwight Macdonald has shown in a brilliant essay in the January, 1945, issue of his Politics, the war in Greece was instigated and kept going by the British, who, their protestations of good will notwithstanding, hoped to become the arbiters of Greece's political future. The end result is a dismal one for Mr. Churchill. He has discredited his country in the eyes of the Greeks who some months ago welcomed the token forces which the British had sent to clean up German pockets. He has antagonized public opinion all over the world. He has even jeopardized the best interests of the British Empire. His only consideration was that a Greek monarchy would be a more pliable tool of British imperial policy than Greek democracy. Instead he has aroused extreme nationalistic sentiments in the great majority of the Greek people, who undoubtedly have become more intransigent in their opposition to the monarchy and to Britain's betrayal of Greek democracy.

Unions v. the State of Texas

The first consequences of the anti-labor assault recently staged by some state legislatures have just reached the United States Supreme Court and the result is a victory for labor. In the Thomas case, decided a few days ago, the Court held that a Texas statute, requiring union organizers to take out state licenses before soliciting union membership, violated the freedom-of-speech and due-process provisions of the Constitution. The case was a close one. The Texas law dealt with paid, professional organizers only; did not require special qualifications from them; did not leave any discretion to the Secretary of State, who was under a duty to issue organizers' cards to all applicants; and did not require the payment of fees. The decision invalidating such a provision would seem on its face to justify the expectation that other, more far-reaching, anti-union statutes will meet with a similar fate. On a closer examination, however, the situation appears more precarious.

In the Thomas case the Court split five to four. The balance of power is held by Mr. Justice Jackson, who, in a separate opinion, stated that an equally broad protection should be—but thus far has not been, according to him—granted to the employers. About a year ago Mr. Justice Jackson cast his decisive vote to compel Louisiana to give full faith and credit to a Texas judgment limiting a workman's compensation to a meager sum, only because the Court had in another case compelled North Carolina to give full faith and credit to a Nevada divorce. It would not be surprising if Jackson's present position in favor of labor's freedom of speech proved to be similarly conditioned on the reversal of the present position of the Court, which has outlawed verbal intimidation on the part of employers.

The whole Court seemed to agree that constitutional freedom to speak on matters of public interest may not, in the absence of a "clear and present danger," be abridged by a state requirement of prior registration. The minority argued, however, that solicitation of union members for profit is a mere business activity; that labor organizations are joined by workers for business reasons; and that, therefore, union solicitation may be subject to registration and license like solicitation to buy securities or theatre tickets.

Both Economic and Political

In these pages we have consistently urged that the legalistic approach in the labor field be abandoned in favor of what has been recently termed a politically minded "jurisprudence of welfare." We have welcomed every judicial recognition of the essentially political nature of union representation and of collective bargaining—regardless of whether such recognition meant new rights or new duties for organized labor. Despite the doubts raised in some liberal quarters, we still consider the recent Steele decision, asserting the quasi-legislative duty of the unions to grant "equal protection" to all workers in a craft, members or not, whites or Negroes, to be a milestone in the development of a modern American labor law. But these political duties of unions must find a counterpart in the constitutional protection accorded to other political activities, and we regret to see the Chief Justice—whose opinion in the Steele case we acclaimed as of historic importance—joining this time in a minority opinion predicated on the legal fallacy that "labor unions are [mere] business organizations."

Manpower

All branches of organized labor are busily mobilizing their forces and their facts in the fight against the May-Bailey "work-or-fight" bill. Both AFL and CIO officials insist that the armed forces and the manpower administrators still have not cited chapter and verse on the manpower shortages of which they are complaining. Labor insists that the existing shortages are the result of waste and inefficiency in administration and that enacting national-service legislation would not cure those causes. CIO President Philip Murray has called for an immediate meeting of leaders of industry, labor, agriculture and government to work out

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a joint plan for solving manpower problems as they arise. Murray and other labor spokesmen are appearing before the Military Affairs Committee to present evidence in support of their position.

Tremendous pressure against enactment of the May bill has been brought on the House Military Affairs Committee in the past week by labor, liberals and big and little business men. The NAM, in this case, is fighting on the same side as the CIO and with as much energy. As a result, the work-or-fight bill is certainly slowed down, perhaps temporarily stopped. War Mobilization Director Byrnes would do well to take Murray's conference proposal seriously and act on it at once.

Foreign Relations in the Senate

The Senate Democratic Steering Committee, headed by Majority Leader Alben Barkley, has named three of the stanchest supporters of the President's foreign policy to membership on the key Foreign Relations Committee: Scott Lucas of Illinois, Lister Hill of Alabama and Carl Hatch of New Mexico. To select these able men the Steering Committee did a rare thing in disregarding ordinary seniority rules which, if followed, would have given preference to three isolationists who wanted the places: Wheeler of Montana, Walsh of Massachusetts and McCarran of Nevada.

Trouble in Yugoslavia

The best argument for a regency in Yugoslavia is King Peter's high-handed and ill conceived rejection of the plan for the temporary administration of the country agreed on some months ago by the *de-jure* Yugoslav Government-in-Exile under Premier Ivan Subasich and Marshal Tito's Anti-Fascist Council of National Liberation, the *de-facto* power in Yugoslavia. Peter's action suggests not only that he is still surrounded by the reactionary camarilla which for so long muddied the waters of Yugoslav politics, but that he hopes to transform what until now has been a national issue into an international one. This is precisely what Subasich and Tito have tried to avoid. For it is well known that the British, on whom Peter will have to rely for moral and diplomatic support, want certain agreements with and promises from the Russian-backed Tito about their prewar concessions in Yugoslavia. It has been charged that the British, in order to force these concessions, have delayed the relief supplies so badly needed by the poverty-stricken people of Yugoslavia. To this has now been added the monarchical issue as a bargaining weapon. Once more a Balkan prince is lending his services to a foreign power contrary to the best interests of his people.

Elementary!

Stan MacGovern in The New York Post

Berle to Brazil

The appointment of former Assistant Secretary of State Adolf Berle, well known member of the appeasement group inside the State Department, as Ambassador to Brazil will hardly give much encouragement to the embattled democratic forces in that country. On the contrary, it will strengthen the hand of Dictator Vargas, who, in view of the growing restlessness in all strata of Brazilian society in recent months, has increasingly tightened his illiberal and corporative regime. His promise of elections is a fraud because these elections would be corporative and not democratic ones. To silence the opposition, which now includes many industrialists and landowners, Vargas in the course of the last year, though fighting on the Allied side in the war, has removed all democratic figures in the government, including the very pro-democratic Foreign Minister Oswaldo Aranha. This has been followed by a new wave of terror and the arrest, last December, of five prominent leaders of the democratic movement in Brazil, chiefly intellectuals and newspaper editors. And Vargas is our ally.

Spanish Politics-in-Exile

Spanish politics in exile has been distinguished by factionalism and bickering. The central issue has been the role which the Communists should play in a united anti-fascist movement. Those opposed to Communist participation, it seems to us, are operating in a vacuum of unreality. The great experience of the European resistance movements has been that effective anti-fascism in those areas is impossible without Communist aid. The fiasco of Diego Martínez Barrio and Indalecio Prieto, both emphatic anti-Communists, who failed to obtain a legal quorum for a rump session of the Spanish Cortes in exile recently held in Mexico City, was both

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inevitable and unimportant. The purpose of calling the session was to make Martínez Barrio the President-in-Exile of the Spanish Republic and to reconstitute a Spanish Government-in-Exile. The refusal of Juan Negrín, the last Spanish Republican Premier, to support this group, is in itself sufficient proof of the failure of the "Mexico City plan."

An almost similar shortsighted policy has been adopted by some German Social Democrats in exile, who, because of their hatred of Communists, attacked the Council for a Democratic Germany in New York City which includes all German anti-fascist elements except themselves, for the sole reason that the Council includes a few Communists.

The Teamsters on the Labor Act

It is regrettable that Daniel Tobin and his AFL Teamsters' Union have allowed jurisdictional disputes with other unions to lead them into an attack upon the National Labor Relations Board. A recent article in the union's official magazine described the NLRB as a "standing committee of the CIO" and called for the repeal of the National Labor Relations Act and the abolition of the Board. Such action would have to be labeled irresponsible, whatever the source. But for it to come from the union of Tobin, who knows very well what the NLRA has done to improve the condition of organized labor, is astounding.

The Latin American Conference

The coming inter-American conference in Mexico City actually amounts to an announcement that the whole machinery of the Pan-American Union is in need of a complete overhauling. The question before the Western Hemisphere nations is what to do about Argentina, and the fact that an independent conference had to be called to consider this matter shows that the Pan-American Union is not geared to handle such heavy present-day jobs. We hope that what to do about this will come up, at least informally, at Mexico City.

Those who have checked over the proposed agenda for the conference are fearful that many of the items may become large red herrings to divert the delegates from the main issue of Argentina. Postwar industrialization in Latin America, the development of the Amazon Basin and the future which Latin America offers to European colonists are all topics worthy of full discussion, but they might also turn out to be good Argentine lightning rods at this meeting. Considering the many side issues that will be raised by the various delegations, even the best prepared American representatives, with the clearest of policy, would have the cards stacked against them. Without such clarity and preparation, our delegation will be lost from the start. This meeting will be our first real chance to measure the performance of the new State Department team.

The Vandenberg Plan

QUITE POSSIBLY HISTORIANS a quarter of a century from now may say that the speech of Senator Arthur Vandenberg a few days ago marked a turning point in world affairs. As most people know by now, Mr. Vandenberg brought forth four main points. First, he suggested an immediate and firm alliance among the United States, Great Britain, France, Russia and China for the permanent demilitarization and control of Germany and Japan. Second, if this were done, he would have the United States use its military power, if necessary, to enforce these terms without specific authorization from Congress in each case. Third, he wants our allies to agree that boundary decisions and political arrangements now being made shall be recognized as temporary and subject to reconsideration after the end of the war. Fourth, he would tell Germany and Japan, without abandoning unconditional surrender, that the longer they fight, the worse the peace terms they will get.

The significance of these suggestions comes from Mr. Vandenberg's position in the Senate and in the Republican Party. He is generally recognized as one of the most thoughtful Republican students of foreign affairs. In three books and numerous magazine articles he has attempted to trace the history of American ideas and their relation to the rest of the world. In the past he has been an isolationist, though not a member of the lunatic fringe of that group. His influence on other members of his party is very great. If he is willing to go this far along the road toward international coöperation, it is a reasonable supposition that at least 64 members of the Senate will do likewise.

What of the actual merits of his proposals? It should be said at once that they are not a satisfactory substitute for the Dumbarton Oaks plan. If they were hostile to or incompatible with that plan, they should be vigorously opposed. We do not believe, however, that this is the case, and we disagree with Senator Connally who, taken by surprise and caught off-guard, expressed the opinion that they were. We can see no reason why the country should not accept the Vandenberg proposals now and the Dumbarton Oaks plan later on. We do not agree with those who fear that the Senate, if the Vandenberg proposals were adopted, would then argue that Dumbarton Oaks is not necessary. On the contrary, we feel that experiencing international coöperation to some degree would make both Congress and American public opinion more, and not less, willing to go on to a greater degree of it.

Mr. Vandenberg, as many correspondents including T.R.B. in this issue of The New Republic have pointed out, assumes that Russia would sign a treaty against Japan as well as Germany. But this seems to us an unimportant detail. We might have a five-power treaty

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against Germany and a four-power treaty against Japan. Or it is possible that before we get around to ratifying, Russia may be fighting in the Orient. The Japanese evidently fear she is planning to enter that phase of the war.

Would Great Britain, and more particularly Russia, balk at the idea that boundary settlements made now shall be subject to reconsideration after the war? They would be foolish to do so, and especially if in exchange they could get a guarantee that America will not again return to isolationism. Churchill and Stalin must know, if they are sensible men, that all boundaries are perennially subject to reconsideration. Postwar conditions might be such that they themselves would want such reconsideration. With or without American participation in a new league, boundaries will be considered; it is far better that this be done under the aegis of a new league with America as a member, than in a world with no league and in a Europe split between British and Russian spheres of influence, with Germany holding the balance of power and playing off one side against the other, as she would be certain to do.

Mr. Vandenberg's plan has two additional merits. It gets around the difficulty of requiring congressional ratification each time American force is used to fight aggression in any part of the world, and it waters down Russia's fear of being declared an aggressor by a mere majority of members of the Council, since warlike actions on Russia's part would in all probability be an attempt to prevent aggression on the part of Germany or Japan. In any case, a few years' experience of practical international coöperation should tend to relieve the pathological suspiciousness which both Russia and the United States Senate exhibit toward the rest of the world.

As for Mr. Vandenberg's proposal to the Germans and Japanese that they will get harsher punishment the longer they keep on fighting, we doubt whether it would have much practical effect. The decision regarding the length of the war is, in both countries, in the hands of fanatics who are immune to common-sense arguments of this sort. On the other hand, we do not see any harm in Senator Vandenberg's idea; and it would be a partial answer to those who say that "unconditional surrender" is not enough.

Quite possibly the Russians may fail to recognize the political importance of circumventing the isolationists in this country; we do not think the British are likely to make the same mistake. The Russians have never shown much understanding of American internal affairs and their representatives in this country have always reported happenings here in an over-simplified, black-and-white, extroverted pattern that is far from reality. It will be a tragedy, however, if the Russians should block the plan. For it carries the possibility of a genuine chance for a coöperative world.

The World After the War

III. The Future of Imperialism

IF ANYBODY THOUGHT that this war would work a magic transformation in the Allies, turning them from individualistic imperialism to coöperative internationalism, he must be thoroughly disillusioned by now. All the great powers have indicated in various ways that they intend to continue policies of self-aggrandizement. True, some of these actions have a conditional clause: the policies will be continued, it is said, if collective security breaks down. But in most cases, not even this tentative offer of amelioration is present.

If Great Britain has proposed setting free any of her colonies or dependencies now held by force, we have not heard of it. The people of India do not expect freedom; the Chinese do not believe they will get Hong Kong except possibly through their own efforts. The same is true of Britain's African possessions and those in all other parts of the world. The new French government is progressive in many ways, but we have not heard a syllable of suggestion that French Indo-China should be liberated, though control over Syria was renounced, as a war propaganda measure, at a time when France had all but ceased to exist. Portugal, Belgium and the Netherlands either promise their colonies nothing, or suggest merely a greater degree of political autonomy and social equality. The signs which say "natives and dogs not permitted in this park" will be tactfully taken down, and a few selected natives will be allowed to become members of the leading clubs in the capital cities of the colonies. Some local political autonomy will be granted. But there is no suggestion that the enormous natural wealth of such a colony as Java, for instance, which certainly belongs by every moral claim to the Javanese, will be returned to them, or even that they will get much increase in the starvation wages they now receive.

You often hear it said that the natives of these regions could not have developed their resources without European aid and that therefore the Europeans are entitled to a share in the proceeds. This argument overlooks two facts. First, the Europeans do not take a share: they take everything, and exploit the native labor to the last degree. Second, those Europeans who actually conduct the operations are rarely the ones who profit from the seizure and exploitation of natural resources. The job is done by hired managers on modest salaries; the fat profits go to investors very few of whom have ever seen the colonies which are the source of their revenue.

The Soviet Union, as everyone knows, is now engaged in safeguarding her postwar security. Whether you approve or disapprove of her attitude, you cannot

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overlook the fact that she is asking a special position for herself in the governments of Finland, Poland, Rumania and Bulgaria. She takes a special interest also in Czecho-Slovakia, Hungary, Turkey and Iran; and she is not neglecting her peculiar problems throughout the Orient. Her position regarding Iran is no worse than that of Great Britain or the United States, but from this distance it is hard to see how it is any better. We would seem to have come a long way from the early days of the revolution, when Russia voluntarily renounced all her special privileges and interests in other countries.

It is chastening for us to remember that in the eyes of the rest of the world we also are an imperialistic power. Not only do many Americans in important places demand that we retain actual ownership and operation of air and naval bases all over the world, including those in the territories of our allies in this war, but almost all the people of this country demand unlimited rights for our trade in all countries, when peace has returned. To be sure, we ask only "equality of opportunity"; but since our Allies will be all but beggared by the war, while we shall come out of it immensely strong in ships, planes and factories, our "equality of opportunity" seems to them to offer approximately the equal chance of a sheep engaged in single combat with a tiger. Imperialism is no less serious and real if it is capitalist-competitive, instead of political exploitative or military-geographic.

In short, every power in the world that is strong enough for an aggressive, self-assertive attitude, takes it. Genuine support for policies under which the nations would substitute the rule of justice for the rule of force comes thus far almost entirely from the smaller powers or from minority groups in the larger ones. Essentially, anarchy still rules internationally long after it has been abandoned or curbed within the limits of the individual community.

It is obvious that American progressives and their counterparts in other countries should work for the complete abolition of imperialism, both economic and political, at the earliest possible moment. The people of no area should be subject to control from outside their own boundaries. Economic life should not be dominated either by force or by sentimental attachments like those which bind Australia or Canada to the British Empire. Imperial preference in trade is an economic monstrosity. Billions of dollars are, in peacetime, wasted every year while expensive ships are used to drag products needlessly halfway around the world for purely sentimental reasons. It goes without saying that all goods should be produced as near as possible to the point where they will be consumed.

Apologists for empire will say that in many parts of the world the natives are not yet ready for self-government. Continued control by one imperial power is defended on the ground that if it were withdrawn, some other imperial power would rush in and take over. As to the first half of the argument, three things must be said. First, imperial apologists always exaggerate the degree of incompetence of inhabitants of their colonies. Second, the powers usually follow deliberate policies to prevent these people from developing the training necessary for self-government. No anthropologist would agree with the imperialists who argue about a genetic inferiority. Third, the incompetence of a colonial people does not justify colonialism. Lord Acton's dictum, that "power corrupts and absolute power corrupts absolutely," is still true. Empires are as bad for what they do to the rulers as to the ruled. As for the second half of the argument, that some other country will capture a colony if the present rulers should let it go, it is obvious that we are moving and must move toward a world where the collective authority will forbid and prevent any such thing.

There are three ways in which imperialism can be overthrown. The first is increasing military strength of the colony, which might make continued domination more trouble to the imperial power than it is worth. Second, changing economic structure might reduce the cash benefit from imperialism; this would not need to continue very long to cause the empire to forget all its alleged altruistic purpose and withdraw. Third, we might see an increasing moral responsibility in the imperial power; for example, a Labor government in England, if it stayed in power long enough, might be expected to do better than a Tory regime. It would be quixotic to expect any overnight transformation in the field of imperialism; but it would be the height of folly for progressives to take a defeatist attitude, or to fail to fight with all their strength against this survival of the dark ages.

This is the third of a series of editorials dealing with the world after the war. The next will discuss prosperity as the key to peace. – THE EDITORS

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A Journal of Opinion

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Catholicism Fights Birth Control

I WAS MUCH INTERESTED in the article by Professor J. M. O'Neill in The New Republic of December 11 on "The Birth-Control Debate." In this article Professor O'Neill, a Catholic layman, says it is "sheer nonsense" that Catholics as a matter of course are "in favor of laws prohibiting doctors, or anyone else, from giving information on birth control to mature men and women who want it." He goes on to say that "there are undoubtedly millions of Catholics in the United States who would never endorse such laws." One must agree at once that what Professor O'Neill says is true, and point out at the same time that it accords with democratic principles that the citizen should not want his personal convictions rammed down his neighbor's throat. But unfortunately, the issue cannot be settled by discussing only the attitude of individual Catholics. There are also the activities of the Church itself and of the Catholic hierarchy. In a subsequent letter (The New Republic, December 25) Professor O'Neill endeavors to brush aside "extra-legal activities" on the part of the hierarchy of the Church from the discussion of his article. These, he says, are not techniques of debate and are therefore outside the question. It would be nice for Professor O'Neill if we were willing to give the "birth-control debate" the placid setting of a high-school dais and let it go at that, but unfortunately in a practical world one must consider men's deeds along with their words, and "by their fruits shall ye know them."

Consider then both the words and the deeds in the birth-control controversy. The attitude of most individual Catholic laymen, for example, is in sharp contrast to that of Bishop James A. Griffin of Chicago, who recently wrote to the Illinois State Department of Public Health criticizing the showing of sex-hygiene films. According to The Springfield, Illinois, State Journal of December 8, "The Bishop expressed surprise that the state of Illinois should be so concerned about the ill effects of venereal disease, while at the same time allowing sponsors of the birth-control movement to solicit aid of tax-paid visiting nurses in advancing the cause of race suicide, which threatens to snuff out the population altogether."

The fears of "race suicide" raised by the Bishop would seem rather alarmist when placed beside the wartime records of three million babies annually. Of this matter, The Statistical Bulletin of the Metropolitan Life Insurance Company, a scientific authority, had this to say: "During the past decade the birth rate in the United States has exhibited remarkable resiliency. But even more important, the greater fertility has been the voluntary expression of a free people who have faith in the future of their country."

The real question posed by Bishop Griffin is whether American citizens shall have access, through their public-health services, to information they consider desirable for personal reasons of health, security and happiness. Bishop Griffin does not want public-health nurses to tell patients where they can get that information, even when such patients are not Catholics and do not consider the intelligent planning of life a violation of "natural law." The Bishop disregards the fact that our health services are supported by the taxes of citizens of every faith, that such services have the public duty to provide for the needs and demands of all people who seek their aid. He would withhold by extra-legal pressures what the law permits.

The action of the bishop in Illinois is not an isolated incident, nor the exception which proves the rule. The efforts to prevent health services from giving medical information on birth control to married persons who desire it and whose religious views permit them to accept it, are applied repeatedly by Catholic leadership to every other channel through which it might pass.

In April, 1943, under instructions from Monsignor Glover of Newark, New Jersey, every physician—Catholic, Protestant and Jew—*having the privilege of* bringing patients to St. Elizabeth's Hospital in Elizabeth, New Jersey, was asked to sign an "application" in which the physician would agree not to give any patient advice on birth control, or any other subject offensive to "Catholic morality," either in the hospital or in *private practice*.

This is the pledge exacted from the physicians at St. Elizabeth's:

> I agree that I will not disseminate any birth-control information and will not be a member of any group or organiation which favors birth control or other eugenic activities at variance with Catholic morality.
>
> I further stipulate that I will live up to all the above agreement both in this hospital and in all my professional activities.

Failure to sign this pledge was to be taken as a resignation from the staff. The action came so quickly that dissenting physicians had little time to protest, for hospitals in Elizabeth were filled to capacity and the doctors faced the practical problem of where to take their patients. Under this pressure, every member of the staff but one signed.

It might be argued with some substance that since St. Elizabeth's is a Catholic hospital, Monsignor Glover was within his complete rights in forbidding the prescription of contraceptive information within the hospital. The point might hold even though it were shown that the hospital obtains a large share of its revenues from public funds, and as a community hospital obtains

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contributions from citizens of all faiths in Elizabeth. But to reach into the office of a physician and prescribe the rules under which he may practise, can be considered no less than a dangerous and ominous invasion of medical rights. More than a majority of the doctors on St. Elizabeth's staff at the time were non-Catholics.

The Elizabeth incident has been duplicated in various forms and in various places on numerous other occasions before and since. For example:

In June, 1939, the Catholic Clergy Association of Waterbury, Connecticut, passed a resolution condemning birth control and demanding that the Waterbury Maternal Health Center be investigated and prosecuted "to the full extent of the law." The resolution was read at mass in every Roman Catholic Church in Waterbury on June 11. On June 12, the Health Center was raided and the staff arrested and brought to trial. Although this action was later dropped, the Connecticut State Supreme Court held the law to be constitutional, and every birth-control clinic in the state was closed and has been closed ever since.

In Massachusetts in 1942, it was proposed to amend the state law against birth control so that doctors could give contraceptive information to married persons for the protection of life or health. Largely because of efforts of the Roman Catholic clergy, the amendment was defeated. Subsequently, some Roman Catholic hospitals in Massachusetts dismissed members of their medical staffs because these men had signed the petition for the referendum.

In Paterson, New Jersey, St. Joseph's Hospital, a Roman Catholic institution, is the largest in the city. Paterson also has a Planned Parenthood Center. All doctors connected with the Planned Parenthood Center were told that they must break this connection or they would be forbidden to attend patients in the hospital. They were peremptorily ordered to let the hospital know "whether or not you have severed your connection with the Birth Control Clinic or organization." Because of public protest, however, this ruling has not been strictly enforced.

In Austin, Texas, the Maternal Health League had quarters in Backenridge Hospital, which receives county and municipal funds. Because of Roman Catholic pressure, this clinic was expelled from the hospital.

If doctors can fall victim to this type of compulsion, what group is immune? It may come as a shock to many to realize that civic leaders of community chests, and through them such Protestant agencies as the Young Women's Christian Association, can be led to submit to the pressure of a Catholic archbishop.

Only three months ago, executives of the Planned Parenthood League of Maryland and the Baltimore YWCA found themselves in agreement as to the need for more adequate marriage-counseling services in their city. Representatives of the two organizations decided to go together in calling a dinner meeting for discussion of the subject. They sent invitations to more than a thousand physicians, Protestant and Jewish clergymen, educators, social workers and nurses.

When a small announcement appeared in the Baltimore papers a week before the meeting, the YWCA executive was hastily summoned to offices of the Baltimore War and Community Fund. The YWCA is a member agency of the Community Chest, but neither the Maryland League for Planned Parenthood nor the Catholic agencies in the community are members, although Archbishop James Curley was serving as a vice-chairman of the combined war fund and community-chest campaign then in progress.

The YWCA representative was told that the dinner on marriage counseling must be immediately canceled. The situation presented was this. When Archbishop Curley had accepted an honorary post in the war-fund drive, he had asked for, and been given, assurance by the fund officials that none of the member agencies was associated in any way with the Planned Parenthood organization.

During the drive the Archbishop had sent a letter, to be read at every mass, urging Catholic members strongly to support the fund campaign. When the Archbishop had learned of the marriage-counsel dinner, he let it be known that he would have to "countermand" the letter unless the YWCA withdrew its participation. In the minds of fund officials the Archbishop's action would have seriously jeopardized the success of the drive. Later these officials expressed the view that even if the Archbishop had not communicated his opinion as to the dinner, they themselves would have felt it necessary to ask its cancellation, because, they said, "controversial issues" have no place in a community-fund effort.

No reasonable explanation has been forthcoming as to how the War and Community Fund, without prior consultation with the YWCA board, could assure the Archbishop that the Protestant agency would not act at any time so as to offend Catholic dogma and teaching. In face of the pressure for community harmony in wartime and its own desire to have the War Fund reach its goal, the YWCA representative acquiesced in the cancellation of the dinner.

There is considerable point to the argument that an archbishop is justified in withholding Catholic coöperation in a situation wherein the principles of his church might be, in his opinion, compromised.

That is quite different, however, from permitting the threat of non-coöperation to be used as a weapon over other agencies in such a way as to jeopardize their own rights, their freedom of assembly and speech. If the civic leaders of Baltimore can be influenced, intimidated or frightened, by the necessity of obtaining funds, into sacrificing the civil liberties which an agency no less than a private citizen should

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possess, then an archbishop or any other majority or minority leader may be able to dictate the policies of community funds and agencies in Los Angeles, Dallas or any other city. If the YWCA is susceptible to compulsion through a community agency, so may also be the YMCA, the USO, the Red Cross, the National Congress of Parents and Teachers and every other non-Catholic or non-sectarian community agency. If as a result of Catholic pressure a Protestant agency can be prevented from association with the program of planned parenthood, cannot that same compulsion be applied to muzzle democratic action and free discussion in relation to venereal disease, sterilization, day nurseries, divorce and marriage, public-school education, child labor and a hundred other subjects on which the Catholic clergy has sharp and separate points of view? As a matter of fact, the public has already been witness to such threats in relation to venereal-disease-control campaigns and efforts to establish proper programs of sex education in the public schools.

Let us consider another recent example of how Catholic action—not the action of individual Catholic laymen but of members of the clergy—worked to prevent planned parenthood from taking its normal place in and as a part of community services.

In 1937 the El Paso, Texas, Mother's Health Center, whose doctors advise married couples with health problems on how to space their children through medically approved means of birth control, became a member of the El Paso Central Council of Social Agencies by invitation. Three years later, A. W. Norcop, representing the Catholic Welfare Association, stated to officers of the Council of Social Agencies that if the Mother's Health Center remained a member, all 20 Catholic agencies would be forced to withdraw. When, a few days later, the Central Council of Social Agencies applied for financial support from the Community Chest, the 20 agencies did in fact resign en masse. It was obviously hoped that this action would force the resignation of the Mother's Health Center from the Council. The Council, however, refusing to be panicked into overt action, did not ask for the resignation of the Center. When the Community Chest admitted the Council to membership, acceptance of the resignation of the 20 Catholic agencies was postponed.

Later in 1940, the threat of withdrawal of the Catholic agencies from the Council was renewed. In a letter to all members of the Council's executive committee, the late Bishop A. J. Shuler of El Paso claimed that the Mother's Health Center "has never been and is not an organization of the nature qualified for membership in the Central Council" under the body's bylaws; that "its object and purpose is highly controversial, disapproved and opposed not only by Catholics, but also by a majority of Protestants and Jews."

All efforts to change the Bishop's stand were futile, though three highly respected business men and a popular rabbi of the city interviewed him in a group, pointing out among other things that the Council of Social Agencies was non-sectarian under its constitution. For three years the 20 Catholic agencies remained out of the Council.

In April of 1944, the representative of the Catholic Welfare Association asked that the constitution of the Council be rewritten, although he had no official position in the Council since the withdrawal of the agencies. But in an effort to be eminently fair, all his suggestions were accepted and incorporated into the constitution except one—that requiring compulsory registration of all cases with the Social Service Exchange, a unit of the Council.

Compulsory registration would have meant that any agency could have obtained the name and history of any patient who had placed herself in the confidence of another member agency. Could all this have meant that the Catholic agencies were willing to share membership in the Council with the Mother's Health Center if they could find means of obtaining the names of Catholic patients seeking the help of that center?

This is the statement of the Bishop's representative, Mr. Norcop, made at a meeting of the Council to consider the constitutional changes and reported in The El Paso Herald-Post of May 2: "To offset the implied approval of a birth-control agency in the Central Council, which would follow if Catholic agencies belonged to the same group, the clergy feel that all cases should be registered so that Catholic agencies may contact Catholic cases at the Mother's Health Center."

As any physician and social worker will testify, this would have been a basic violation of professional trust. The amendment on compulsory registration was voted down by the Council 58-4, the Catholic agencies having lost their vote by withdrawal. The president of the Council, Judge Mulcahy, a Catholic, thereupon resigned at the request of the Bishop.

The incidents in New Jersey, Maryland, Texas and elsewhere are but a few in a pattern of action which has been manifest in almost every state. They are part and parcel of the "birth-control debate," involving not simply a question of free and fair discussion, as Professor O'Neill seems to see it, but a fundamental question of civil liberties which must be of concern to every American, Catholic and non-Catholic alike.

No one can question the right of Catholic leadership to denounce birth control in vehement terms. No one can question the right of Catholic clergy to prescribe the most severe maledictions on followers who use methods of birth control not approved by the Church. But, one asks, in this year of democracy's crisis—what of the rights of the parents of some 28,000,000 non-Catholic American families who might like to make up their own minds on this subject?

At one time, Catholic leadership worked to prevent

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the opening of planned-parenthood clinics by the enactment or invocation of legislation to that end. This battle has been thus far effective in only two states, Massachusetts and Connecticut, where today a doctor may not prescribe birth control even if he feels a patient's life and health depend upon it. The action which resulted in closing of planned-parenthood clinics in these two states has thus far been sustained in the state courts, but there is considerable legal opinion which believes the laws will be found unconstitutional if tested before the Supreme Court.

Still at other times pressure has been strongly exerted against free speech and public discussion of this subject. This battle, too, has been largely lost, though many magazines and radio stations still hesitate to give the subject the same scientific discussion they would give to other subjects—remembering past threats, intimidation and boycotts used against them.

Is there a democratic solution to this dilemma? Can Catholic leaders be convinced that they have no more right to deny birth control to non-Catholics through the health and welfare services in their communities than would the ordinary Catholic layman to walk into his neighbor's house and command him to have five more children?

Solution will not be easy. There has been thus far a blank refusal on the part of Catholic hierarchy to acknowledge that non-Catholics have rights which should not be abridged by action of the Church, proper only in relationship to its own members. Recently the Planned Parenthood League of Connecticut sought a conference with the Bishop of Hartford in the hope of reaching some amicable understanding regarding a bill that is soon to be introduced into the Connecticut legislature. This bill will permit physicians to prescribe birth control for their married patients when in their medical judgment they deem it wise and necessary. The Bishop's reply was a polite and firm "No." "The opposition of the Catholic Church," it said, "is a matter of fundamental natural moral principle upon which there can be no compromise. In these circumstances, you will, I am sure, agree with me that a conference would be unprofitable."

Yet one planned-parenthood organization did find an answer. By agreement with the Catholic Welfare Society in its community, it arranged to refer patients coming to it for aid but to whom medical means of birth control presented religious objections, to be given the services of Catholic physicians able to instruct in the Rhythm Method. This carries Catholic "ecclesiastical approbation." In view of the scientific uncertainties of "Rhythm," this may be an imperfect solution, but it is an advance over the defamation and mud-slinging, which Mr. O'Neill deplores, and the undemocratic forms of community coercion now still widely in evidence.

CORNELIUS P. TROWBRIDGE

Britain and the Italian Left

AT A RECENT mass meeting held in Rome jointly by the Communist and Socialist Parties, Pietro Nenni, the Socialist leader, bluntly stated the basic issue of Italian politics as seen by the Left when he said that "we are the new ruling class of Italy." This dictum, it may seem, is a political postulate rather than a statement of fact. But it gives a clue to an understanding of the Italian situation. What did Nenni mean?

As everywhere else, Italian fascism represented a phase in modern capitalist development. It was characterized by the ossification of the existing class structure in the interest of the traditional-monarchical and bourgeois-capitalist ruling class whose power was threatened by the political and economic demands of the working classes, industrial and agrarian, in the years of social unrest immediately after the last war.

The liquidation of fascism requires, therefore, also the abolition of those institutional phenomena in Italian political life which were responsible for the victory of fascism in the first place, *i.e.*, the misery of the peasantry, the exploitation of the industrial proletariat, the insecurity—economic and psychological—of the bourgeoisie and the determination of the capitalist and landowning classes to hold on to their property and defend the existing system in spite of the inherent inability of these classes to solve Italy's urgent social problems.

While the fall of fascism should lead to a complete revamping of Italy's political and social institutions, the British, holding all key positions in the Allied Commission, appear to be hell-bent to prevent it. What Great Britain seems to want is the restoration of the pre-Mussolini parliamentary and capitalist Italian state, which would be economically dependent on Britain and politically weak because its unsolved social problems could not fail to create a precarious equilibrium of forces, antagonistic to one another and maintained by the threat of British intervention in the name of "law and order." The very situation which caused the emergence of fascism and which the fascist dictatorship sought to preserve, would be guaranteed by British force.

The apparent confusion in contemporary Italian politics, the jockeying for strategic political position by Right and Left, could have been avoided if Allied policy in Italy had been based on the social and political needs of the post-Fascist era rather than on the conservative prejudices and imperial interests of Tory-

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dominated Great Britain. Instead, Allied policy not only failed to anticipate the emergence of vigorous democratic parties, anxious to assume power, but it also disregarded the social implications of the fall of the Fascist regime.

Just as the old Italian ruling class could stay in power only by safeguarding itself through the coercive machinery of the Fascist state, it is now dependent on the coercive machinery of the Allied Commission. If the latter were withdrawn today, the whole present governmental set-up would collapse like a house of cards. It is for this reason that all the political maneuvers of Right and Left, such as accompany the recurring cabinet crises, are a waste of political energy that could be usefully channeled in a more constructive direction. This, of course, is precisely what British policy does not want to see happen. Hence the activities of all political parties, Right and Left, are directed toward the future rather than being grounded in contemporary necessities.

If Nenni can say that "we are the new ruling class," it is because he, in contrast to the Allied Commission, understands the social dynamics implicit in the disappearance of fascism. Quite apart from the fact that the old ruling class, and especially the monarchy, is discredited because of its association with fascism, the collapse of the Fascist system must ultimately and necessarily mean a shift in the power structure of Italian society from the old to "the new ruling class." This shift may be delayed, but it cannot be halted indefinitely, except through a neo-Fascist revival.

Although the immediate downfall of Mussolini was engineered by his former associates-in-crime, the Badoglios, the Grandis, the Cianos and the King, who thus hoped to escape well merited punishment, the real enemy of the Fascist regime was the democratic movement of the Italian people, organized in committees of national liberation long before the Allied landings. The resistance movement failed to come into the open before Mussolini's fall, not because of weakness, but because Mussolini, as long as he was backed by the House of Savoy and such "respectable" elements as Badoglio, had just enough of a margin of *effective* power to keep it underground.

In spite of the logical inevitability that power should be transferred to the Italian working class and its political parties, the situation today is extremely critical for the Left. After a year and a half of Anglo-American rule, not a single one of the leftist demands has been fully realized. On the contrary, their realization has been systematically sabotaged by the British, with American consent. The evidence is overwhelming. Instead of our having abolished the monarchy, the royalist forces have been encouraged to the point where Badoglio again offers his services to the Lieutenant General of the Realm. Instead of a swift purge of Fascists and their collaborators, the punishment of the guilty has lagged, and many pro-Fascists are known still or again to occupy important official positions.

Instead of our having armed the democratic partisans in German-occupied Northern Italy, they were told by General Alexander to lay down their arms and go home (in greatest danger of being massacred by the Fascists and Nazis). Instead of our building up a democratic Italian army, the only military leader who dared to suggest the transformation of the "royal" into a "national" army, General Arnoldo Azzi, was relieved of his active command. Instead of our solving the country's desperate economic situation by deep-reaching reforms of the economy in the interest of the people and not, in Nenni's words, of "the plutocrats of industry and agriculture," the economic picture, as reported in the daily press, has steadily deteriorated. No wonder that the Fascist fifth column, after lying low for a year and a half, finds a fertile soil for renewed activity among the justifiably exasperated masses.

Although the Italian Left knows that the future is theirs, Communists, Socialists and the Action Party are realistic enough not to indulge in too much optimism or dogmatic determinism. Hence their political strategy and their demands are dictated by the need for strengthening their own position and weakening that of the Right until the danger to a democratic Italy caused by British interference has disappeared. At the present time, the Communists and the two other Left parties disagree over the best method of doing this. There is something to be said for both sides of the argument.

The Communists, whatever may be the tactical or ideological reasons for their doing so, by joining the second Bonomi cabinet have successfully forestalled, for the present at least, the formation of a government that would be too slavishly subservient to the British. They have kept the door open for an agreement with the Catholic-inspired, but popularly based Christian-Democratic Party. And there is no indication that their participation in the government has disrupted their unity pact with the Socialists or softened their political demands. The Communist rank and file, in spite of official silence from its leaders, has definitely swung into the anti-monarchic camp.

Palmiro Togliatti, the Communist leader, in a recent issue of the Corriere di Roma, reaffirmed Communist support of the entire democratic movement's insistence that not the monarchy, but the committees of national liberation, be the source of the new Italy's legitimacy:

> Since the political life of the country revolves entirely around the unifying force, the liberation committees, no government can function adequately unless it acknowledges this reality, leaning upon the liberation committees for the solution of all problems which present themselves, even the technical problems. . . . In order to do this, it is necessary to hold municipal elections; it is necessary to decentralize, not centralize; to call the liberation committees to governmental functions; to stimulate and coördinate the activities

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of the governmental apparatus, those of the political parties, the trade unions, women's mass organizations, youth, cultural, religious and other groups. And the governmental man must neither be a bureaucrat, nor a jurist, nor an old-fashioned parliamentarian.

The Socialists and the Action Party, on the other hand, by staying outside of the second Bonomi cabinet in protest against British pressure, especially in the Sforza affair, can afford to be even more outspoken than their Communist allies in criticizing existing conditions. While the Communists will have some difficulty in absolving themselves from responsibility for any unpopular measures of the Bonomi cabinet, the Socialists and the Action Party are in a position to become parties of real protest and hence to appeal to the discontented. It has been suggested that Bonomi, faced with Communist criticism within and Socialist-Action Party opposition without, is caught in a crossfire that will sooner or later destroy him.

Italy's grim post-Fascist experience, it cannot be emphasized often enough, is not the result of so-called "mistakes" in Allied policy. It is the result of a deliberate policy, determined by Great Britain's imperial interests. The object of this policy is to prevent a strong, democratic Italy. It has been charged on a number of occasions that the British, in order to starve the Italian people into submission first and then to ask for Italian "gratitude" after giving minimum relief, have artificially obstructed the immediate recovery of industrial and agricultural production in the liberated areas. To be sure, this policy is embroidered with idealistic phrases, but these are only propaganda gestures. The only purpose of the war against Fascist Italy, it now seems, was the destruction of Italy's war machine and the liquidation of the most notorious Fascist leaders. If Italy had been able to stay out of the war against the Allies, Mussolini, like Franco, would still be in the saddle.

What is the alternative to this British policy? It depends, to a large extent, on what will happen when Northern Italy is liberated. Just as Badoglio and his King could not, politically, survive the liberation of Rome, so it is possible that Bonomi and his Lieutenant General of the Realm may not survive the liberation of the industrial cities of the North, Milan, Turin and Genoa. In these cities Italy's revolutionary, anti-Fascist movement is strongest. The demand for predominant power will be pressed more energetically by both Right and Left. The only sensible alternative to fascism is socialist democracy. The Italian Right is strong only in so far as it is supported by the British. If the British are as determined to prevent popular government in Italy as they are in Greece, a latent civil-war situation is inevitable, even though actual hostilities are less likely because the Italian resistance movement is less well armed and well organized than the Greek, and because "law and order" will be maintained by the preponderant military power of the Anglo-American armies.

HEINZ EULAU

The Price of Prosperity

II. *Employment and Export Trade*

In the preceding article we considered the barriers to a full-employment economy which must be removed. In the current article the possible contributions to employment of our export trade and the deterioration of our export position in the thirties receive our attention.

Few economists would contend that we could have a high level of employment without a high level of exports. The share to be carried by consumption and investment is admittedly high. If exports can bear a substantial part of the burden, then to that extent less recourse will be had to public investment.

In the inter-war period, and particularly in the thirties, exports did not make the required contribution. Government economists have estimated that a much larger export trade is possible in the postwar era than in the thirties. According to the Department of Commerce, a full-employment economy might provide $10 billion of exports annually. This compares with around $2 billion of exports annually in the thirties.

We can account for $10 billion as follows:

	$ Billion
1. Exports to pay for imports at a full-employment income	6
2. Reduction of tariffs—further rise of imports and corresponding gain in exports	1
3. A rise of export prices—not fully accounted for in the income-export relationship (assumed under (1))	1
4. Foreign investment (a significant part to be provided under the Bretton Woods Program)	2

When we ask ourselves what might be the contribution of exports, it is not easy to give a precise answer. The maximum gains might be assumed under the following conditions. A substantial amount of unemployment prevails when exports are at a low point. Then assume a rise of exports by $8 billion from the level of the thirties. Additional demand is thus created, matched by a corresponding rise of output: unemployed factors of production are put to work. To this we must add the secondary effects resulting from the spending by those who profit from the export demand.

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Then the net addition might be put at $16 billion: $8 billion for direct effects and $8 billion for effects in later cycles of spending. On these assumptions, exports would account for around one-ninth of our national income and perhaps seven million jobs.

In taking this position, we assume that alternative measures directed to increasing demand are not available or at least will not be preferred to a rise of exports. The economist may contend that rather than increase exports, let us expand our public investment, thus providing more jobs and more goods, the difference being that the goods are now available to Americans, not foreigners. To this the *political economist* might answer that it cannot be done. In the thirties, the country applauded an inflow of $15 billion of gold over a period of 7 years in payment for goods and capital rights, that is, claims to future goods. We would have nothing to do with a substantial public investment program which might well have been the more sensible choice. It is not yet evident that those who determine policy have changed their views.

WHAT SOME VETERANS WANT

We look forward to becoming civilians: making a decent living, raising a family, and living in freedom from the threat of another war. But that was what most Americans wanted from the last war. They found that military victory does not automatically bring peace, jobs or freedom. To guarantee our interests, which are those of our country, we must work for what we want.

Therefore we are associating ourselves with American men and women, regardless of race, creed or color, who are serving with or have been honorably discharged from our armed forces, merchant marine, or Allied forces. When we are demobilized it will be up to all of us to decide what action can best further our aims.

These will include:

Adequate financial, medical, vocational and educational assistance for every veteran.

A job for every veteran, under a system of private enterprise in which business, labor, agriculture and government work together to provide full employment and full production for the nation.

Thorough social and economic security.

Free speech, press, worship, assembly and ballot.

Disarmament of Germany and Japan and the elimination of the power of their militarist classes.

Active participation by the United States in the United Nations organization to stop any threat of aggression and to promote social and economic measures which will remove the causes of war.

Establishment of an international veterans' council for the furtherance of world peace and justice among the people of all nations. – *Tentative statement of intentions by the American Veterans' Committee, 654 Madison Avenue, New York 21, N. Y.*

We have of course been overly optimistic. If exports provide more jobs, imports may reduce them. Yet let us not forget that to a substantial degree imports do not compete with domestic industries. Our imports of silk, fine manufactures, coffee, tea, sugar, etc., are not directly in competition with American products. To a substantial degree, imports (*e. g.*, raw materials) are complementary, not competitive. An indirect competition for the favor of the spender of dollars is not, however, to be dismissed. If we buy more tea, we may buy less milk. Yet our total spending is not rigidly fixed. In no small part, purchases of foreign commodities are additions to, not substitutes for, domestic commodities.

In this connection another factor is of some importance. We are assuming—and this is not unrelated to the probable postwar situation—that exports create a demand for factors that otherwise would have been unemployed or not available. In order that exports be maintained at the high levels discussed here, we must import. And unless we import, foreign countries will not have the dollars with which to buy our products. It has been estimated that a rise of our national income to a full-employment level will, for example, increase Britain's exports by more than her losses as a result of the disinvestment associated with the war. Her gains are associated not only with our increase of imports from the British directly, but with the resulting rise of purchases by others who now also obtain more dollars as we purchase more.

We can conclude, then, that at an export trade of $10 billion and imports of $8 billion, the gains in jobs and income will be substantial, though we cannot give a precise answer of the magnitude involved. It is more likely to be three million rather than seven million additional jobs, as assumed under very favorable conditions above. If the magnitude of potential unemployment falls between two and twelve million jobs, our export trade may make a substantial difference.

It is not assumed that there is any disposition to lend without provision for repayment. Our loans are to be limited to the amounts that foreign countries can digest and are to be placed under conditions which give a reasonably good chance of repayment. Good faith on the part of the debtor is required; but, even more, the lending nation must conduct itself as a responsible creditor. It should not lend spasmodically; it should prepare the way for repayment through reduction of tariff barriers; and it should provide for temporary defaults under conditions which make postponement inevitable. A default which is provided for in the contract terms is not a default.

The Decline of Trade. – We can dismiss briefly the quantitative aspects of the collapse of world trade and investment. Our exports were abnormally high at $8.3 billion in 1920; at a little above the normal level,

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$5.2 billion in 1929; at a disastrously low point of $1.6 billion in 1932. Our average exports of $2.1 billion in 1931-36 were approximately $2.5 billion less than in the years 1921-29. A national income of $80 billion would have provided a satisfactory level of employment in the thirties. But with actual income at less than $60 billion on the average, unemployment averaged more than 10 million. If, then, the failure of export trade to attain appropriate levels in the thirties accounted for a reduction of $5 billion in national income per year, one-quarter of the loss of income and of the unemployment may be associated with the decline of exports. The relation of exports and income was discussed by the writer in an article in The New Republic of November 27, 1944. Other aspects will be discussed in subsequent articles.

World trade also fell precipitously. In United States gold dollars the decline was from $68.6 billion in 1929 to $27.7 billion in 1938, or a fall of 60 percent. Since prices had fallen by 55 percent, the volume reduction was but 11 percent. Many may find consolation in the quantum figures, but they would not be justified in so doing. In fact, the marked decline in prices of exports and imports reflects unemployment, declining incomes, panicky selling, the inability of millions of producers to shift from unprofitable to profitable lines of production. These unfortunates in turn buy less from domestic producers, the latter then sharing misfortune. Forty billion dollars of world income vanished; and with it additional losses were suffered by those dependent on exports or affected by export income or those deprived of much needed capital.

Sales at bargain prices by agricultural countries may be considered a windfall for the industrial countries, but the buyer never really profits from the impoverishment of the seller. In the thirties, the British frequently commented on the folly of buying too cheap: they had managed to bankrupt their best customers.

Our Losses Were Disproportionately Large. – If we say foreign trade fell in the inter-war period, then our share of world trade declined even more. Whereas this country's share of world imports was 16.8 percent in 1929, it was but 12.8 percent in the 1933-38 period. Europe accounted for 75 percent of our exports in 1900; but only 41 percent in 1937-39. Our share in a shrinking volume of trade has continued to dwindle because agricultural prices have tended to fall more than manufactured prices; because agriculture in those years accounted for a large share of our export trade; and because, with dollars scarce, foreign countries increasingly sought trade agreements with countries prepared to buy from them.

We should not lose sight of the deterioration in the position of agriculture. Its share in our export trade, which equaled 47 percent in 1922-24, had fallen to 25 percent in 1937-39. Exports of cotton (unmanufactured) came to $810 million in the former years and but $280 million in the latter; wheat, $274 and $75 million. Between them, these two products accounted for three-fifths of the losses in agricultural exports. Whereas exports of manufactures have responded to improved conditions abroad, agricultural exports have not.

The vanishing market for our agricultural exports has had a profound effect on our national economic and political life. These losses had to be recouped. The obvious way was a program designed to raise prices at home. What the foreigner would not pay, domestic consumers were forced to pay. In turn, these restrictions on output, which were the means of raising agricultural prices and incomes, further impaired the competitive position of farmers abroad. The greater the losses abroad, the further domestic price-raising programs were carried; and the more successful were the latter, the greater the losses of sales abroad.

I leave to the reader's imagination the political and economic repercussions. Farmers had a grievance. They organized to protect their prices and incomes: they refused to accept the exploitation involved in a reduction of farm prices in excess of that in non-farm prices. Their cause was just. The measures taken to attain their objectives have been unfortunate.

The Scarcity of Dollars. – In the years 1930-40, this country suffered from a scarcity of dollars, which was evident in the low level of income. If Americans were embarrassed by this scarcity, foreigners were doubly so. At least this country, through its government and banking system, might have recourse to the manufacture of more dollars. No such alternative was available to foreigners. They wanted dollars in order to buy our goods. They could obtain them only through the sales of goods or services or of securities (importation of capital). The scarcity of dollars was evidenced in a decline of 68 percent in the supply of dollars made available from 1927-29 to the early thirties. We drastically cut our imports; and we reduced our foreign lending. For both reasons, fewer dollars were put at the disposal of foreigners.

It is fashionable to put the entire blame for the deficiency of dollars upon our government. This is not exactly fair. Our tariffs certainly did not help matters; and the sudden reversal of our lending policies in 1928-30 embarrassed foreign countries. Yet, according to the theory of international trade, a scarcity should not persist. Under a gold standard, for example, our failure to buy adequately and lend, and the foreign countries' disposition to buy excessively, should result in large influxes of gold here, a rise of prices here and a decline abroad. These price and income changes—declines abroad, rises here—should result in more purchases and smaller sales by Americans. And with more money and lower rates of interest, we should lend

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more. In this manner, the supply of dollars at the disposal of foreign countries should once more become equal to their needs.

It was not so simple as that. Even by the early twenties, Europeans complained of our failure to put our imports of gold to full use. We were sterilizing it, in their view, and, therefore, not allowing prices to rise sufficiently to bring about the required adjustment in trade. In fact, for the years 1921-29 they could point to a fall in wholesale prices here of 2 percent. We, on the other hand, might well draw their attention to an increase in adjusted demand deposits (money) of 40 percent and of stock-market prices (The New York Times Index) of almost 300 percent. With a substantial monetary expansion and this dangerous rise in stock-market prices, many would call our policy highly inflationary. In short, it was not easy to adjust domestic policy to the requirements of the dollar market.

Nor were foreign countries entirely blameless. They borrowed large sums of money. They did not scrutinize loans as to their productivity and their potential yield in foreign exchange. They did not assess loans in terms of the over-all situation. In view of the manner in which American investors were forcing loans upon them, this is perhaps not surprising. Perhaps even less defensible may have been the lending policies of these countries. From 1922 to 1929 they sent $1,650 million of short-term capital into this country. In this manner they contributed to the stock-market boom, which in turn made foreign lending less attractive. Even more striking is the history of the years 1934 to 1940. In these years, when dollars continued to be scarce, the inflow of capital was $7.5 billion. Of this total, approximately $1 billion represented an inflow of short-term funds held abroad by Americans; $900 million were amortization payments to this country; $3.6 billion were short-term funds sent here by foreigners; $1 billion were purchases of American securities by foreigners; and $700 million were advance payments and capital assistance by the British government in conjunction with Britain's war effort. (These are the most important items included in the total.) Foreign nations could not in all fairness complain too bitterly about our policies or about the scarcity of dollars when they allowed $7.5 billion to escape. In this unusual period, this relatively rich country imported vast sums from the impoverished world.

SEYMOUR E. HARRIS

This is the second of a series of articles by Dr. Harris and Dr. Alvin Hansen on the related problems of export trade, full employment at home and the proposals made at Bretton Woods. The third article, also by Dr. Harris, will deal with the dangers of unilateral government action in the economic and financial field and will appear in an early issue. – THE EDITORS

How Britain Does It

Operation of Her Universal National Service System

In view of the interest in the question of national service in the United States, The New Republic asked Mr. Chaim Raphael of the British Information Services to answer the following questions for our readers. Mr. Raphael, who before the war was a lecturer at Oxford University, is now industrial and economic expert for the BIS in New York. – THE EDITORS

WHEN WAS BRITAIN'S "NATIONAL SERVICE ACT" PUT INTO FORCE, AND WHAT ARE ITS TERMS? – The manpower set-up in Britain cannot be understood except by reference to the fateful history of the last five years. Comparisons are difficult—if not impossible—because of the special circumstances that prevailed there. Even terminology presents difficulties. The National Service Acts in Britain (actually there are three) deal solely with drafting for the Forces and full-time Civil Defense. They cover all men and women aged 18 to 51. In practice, men have been drafted for the Forces up to about 45 and women only in the 18-25 age-group.

To understand the British measures drafting manpower for civilian jobs, one has to get back to the atmosphere of May, 1940. On May 22 (eight days before the beginning of the evacuation from Dunkirk) an Emergency Powers (Defense) Act was rushed through both Houses of Parliament in three hours. It consisted virtually of one paragraph of one hundred words, and gave the government, as the Deputy Prime Minister said, "complete control over all persons and property." Under the Act, the government could issue Orders covering everything needed for the war. That same afternoon, Defense Regulation 58A was issued under the Act, giving the Minister of Labor[1] power to direct any person in Britain to perform any service which that person was capable of performing. A person so directed was to be paid "the rate for the job."

Subsequent Orders have filled out the picture. One set called for registration of all persons for employment and for special registrations of certain skilled persons. The Essential Work Orders made it illegal for any worker in a job scheduled as "essential" to be dismissed (except for serious misconduct) or to give

[1] Full title: "Minister of Labor and National Service."

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up his job, without the permission of the Ministry of Labor's representative. Appeal machinery exists. (Nearly 8,500,000 workers are affected.) Further Orders provided that men in the main war industries and women (18 to 40) could be taken on only through the machinery of the Ministry of Labor, and that any termination of a job by men (up to 65) and women (up to 60) was to be notified to an office of the Ministry. Under the same basic Emergency Powers Act, an Order made any strike or lock-out illegal unless the dispute had been referred to the Minister of Labor, and he had not had it settled or referred to the National Arbitration Tribunal (or some other appropriate machinery) within 21 days.

These Orders were not introduced all at one time, and they contain many safeguards. But that is the general picture of control.

2. *What Has Been the Attitude of Trade Unions to These Controls?* – Every Order affecting labor has been the subject of discussion in advance between the Minister (Ernest Bevin, himself a veteran trade-unionist) and his Joint Consultative Committee, consisting of seven representatives of the British Employers' Confederation and seven of the Trades Union Congress. The trade-union movement as a whole gave its consent to the basic measures on May 25, 1940, when Ernest Bevin addressed a specially summoned meeting. The net result is that the unions have stood firmly behind Orders issued for essential war purposes, even though they like control no better than does management.

Broadly speaking, they have had two safeguards. The first is labor's representation not only in the government itself, but on all types of bodies—committees, boards, appeals tribunals, etc.—dealing with manpower or production. The second is that the Orders themselves include safeguards on working conditions, some ahead of even peacetime safeguards. The Essential Work Orders, for example, not only give workers who are "frozen" to their jobs a "guaranteed week," but lay down that a plant will be scheduled as essential only if terms and working conditions are fully satisfactory. Similarly, the Order "outlawing" strikes says, at the same time, that *all* employers have to observe "recognized terms and conditions," which means mostly those reached by collective bargaining. In some industries, guaranteed minimum wages have opened up new postwar prospects. Orders covering all industry have been issued which set high standards for health and welfare in, and outside, the factory. Though trade unions have agreed to the wartime suspension of many hard-won trade practices (*e. g.*, restrictions on certain jobs, opposition to dilution), they have the guarantee, embodied in a special Act of Parliament, that these will be restored after the war where so required by the union. The government has upheld and fostered the voluntary principle in all negotiation, and union membership increased from 6,231,000 at the end of 1939 to 8,100,000 at the end of 1943.

3. *How Are the Controls Administered?* – The Minister of Labor is solely responsible for all manpower, including manpower for the Forces. On basic production priorities, he plans jointly for labor with the Minister of Production. The over-all position is constantly surveyed (in consultation with other departments) to adjust labor priorities to changing war requirements.

The nationwide machine for putting the agreed policies into effect consists of the 1,225 local offices of the Ministry, ranging from large employment exchanges to small branch offices. In these offices, more than 33 million men and women have been registered for national service of one kind or another, while more than 7 million have been personally interviewed for employment. In addition to the peacetime routine jobs, there is the wartime inspection of plants by Labor Supply Inspectors to ensure economy in manpower use; the work of the National Service Officers who decide on assignment and transfers, and give the legal "directions" when needed; the District Manpower Boards and Appointment Offices; the detailed planning through Regional Production Boards and Headquarters. Before the war, the Ministry employed 5,400 persons at Headquarters and 26,200 outside, a total of 31,600. Present staff is just under 5,300 at Headquarters and 35,000 outside, a total of 40,300.

Particularly with women who register for employment (all those aged 18-50), controls operate with maximum care and tact. Except for those with children under 14 or those already engaged in necessary war jobs, every woman is called to a personal interview, where full domestic and financial circumstances can be presented. If it is decided that she can do a war job, she is given a wide choice of occupation. If she is not satisfied, she may put her case to a Women's Advisory Panel. If the Panel agrees with the decision of the National Service Officer, she can appeal to the Local Appeals Board. These boards are independent bodies consisting usually of employers and workers with an independent chairman. They hear all appeals against the "direction" of a National Service Officer to take up or remain in a job, and against decisions under the Essential Work Orders.

4. *How Are Persons Allocated to Civilian Jobs?* – For more than five years, the Forces have had first call on manpower. In the first two years, deferment was based on a "Schedule of Reserved Occupations," the purpose being to ensure that all men *without* civilian technical skills could be absorbed quickly in the Forces, leaving those with skills to be sorted out later. In 1942, reservation was put on an individual basis. The employer (or trade union) has to appeal for defer-

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ment for each man to a District Manpower Board (consisting of Ministry officials) and show both that his job is essential and that he cannot be replaced. Within each employment exchange and each region, the needs for labor are graded according to urgency, and circulated. Though efforts would normally be made to keep a man in his home district, he can be sent anywhere in the country where the need is urgent. Within the plant, workers "frozen" to essential jobs may be asked to undertake any "reasonable" job, if, temporarily, their own work is not available.

The allocation of women presents special problems. At their interview after registration, they are classified as "mobile" or "immobile," depending on whether they can be asked to leave their home districts. All women whose husbands are away in the Forces or the merchant marine are included as "immobile." It may sometimes be necessary to direct a "mobile" woman doing an essential job in her home town to take an essential job elsewhere, if an "immobile" woman is available to do her job. Similarly, great care has to be exercised in organizing part-time workers.

5. *What Is Done About Special Training for War Jobs?* – Many of the larger factories have their own training departments. In addition, training to a high degree of skill is given in the Ministry of Labor Training Centers, or in Technical Colleges, all training being free and trainees receiving payment. Where employed persons train for higher skills, their employers pay their wages during training. There are also part-time courses in foremanship and supervision. Notable successes have been achieved in training the physically disabled, including those wounded in this war, and the blind.

6. *To What Sort of Jobs Have People Mainly Been Assigned?* – Overwhelmingly to the munitions industries, iron and steel, shipbuilding, engineering, aircraft, etc., though aptitude is taken into account. Men working in this group increased from 2,600,000 in mid-1939 to 3,210,000 in mid-1944, women from 506,000 to 1,851,000. Yet women increased, too, in the "essential civilian group" of occupations—agriculture, transport, public utilities, etc.—growing from 852,000 to 1,644,000. (Men declined by 629,000.) Women can volunteer for a great variety of jobs, from timber production to NAAFI (USO) work, from being a bus conductor to becoming a nurse. A special problem for men is coal mining. In December, 1943, the great shortage of miners led to a decision to select a certain proportion of all new "draftees" by ballot and send them to dig coal. (They are known as the Bevin Boys.)

7. *In Practice, How Much Coercion Is Found Necessary?* – The penalties for any offense under a Defense Regulation are, on summary conviction, imprisonment up to three months or a fine of one hundred pounds ($400), or both; on conviction under indictment, prison up to two years or a fine up to five hundred pounds ($2,000), or both. In the case of a corporation, the amount of the fine is not limited. In practice, coercion is the exception. The Minister of Labor has frequently stated in Parliament that while final sanctions must remain, his object is not to punish workers and employers but to persuade them to continue working at full pressure. Up to February 29, 1944, a total of 23,517 workers and 1,807 employers had been prosecuted for *all* offenses against the "industrial code." These figures cover almost four years, during which time Britain has had 94 percent of her men aged 14-64 and 37-44 percent of her women aged 14-59 mobilized in the Forces or industry. The figures include prosecutions for strikes, which are technically "illegal"; but since strikes which occur are mostly spontaneous local outbursts, undertaken without approval of union leaders, the weapon of prosecution is used with care. "Prosecutions are instituted in all suitable cases," said Mr. Bevin, "but indiscriminate recourse to this remedy would not be likely to be effective." The record shows that loss of time through all disputes in 1940-43 was equivalent to something like one hour per worker per year.

8. *Does Britain Have Dismissal Pay or Other Provisions for Tiding Workers Over in the Transition?* – Compulsory unemployment insurance covers all manual workers and all others earning up to £400 a year. Benefits have recently been increased to help workers to meet any transitional period between a war job and a peace job. There is no dismissal pay, but the British government has put forward comprehensive proposals to ease the transition. For one thing, controls will attempt to ensure that civilian industries start up where labor is available.

CHAIM RAPHAEL

Plane Coming

Reminiscence by an Ex-Airplane-Spotter

Now felt, beyond the yammer of the dogs,
And raucous parliament of the guinea-hens,
Beyond the broken choiring of the frogs,
And nickering of the colt by pasture fence;
Through all the air-softened clamor of the land—
Slammed door, spark trial and sputter, starting roar,
Dim parting cry, staccato reprimand,
Or laughter welling up from one word more;
Farther than these, yet knowable to the ear
Which feels past nearness, under the skin of night,
An operant probe, prepared for what is there
Ever before the sought-for comes to light:
That humming, deep disquiet in the sky,
Which bloods all surface sound in thundering by!

CARLOS BAKER

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Washington Notes

What the Big Three Face

EIGHT MEMBERS of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee went in to talk turkey to President Roosevelt last week about foreign affairs. They had their ideas on what he should say to those foreigners, Churchill and Stalin. They stayed on hour and a half. They came away looking solemn and subdued. Suddenly had burst upon them the real problem of postwar peace.

Many Americans think Roosevelt is going to the Big Three meeting, somehow to "throw a miracle." He will make the best bargain he can. But then it will be time to test the willingness of back-home isolationists and perfectionists to accept the result. The difficulties: There is Soviet suspicion and obduracy; British toryism and empire-ism; American economic imperialism—a desire to grab trade and exult in our wealth, while keeping high tariffs, subsidies and domestic restrictions. Each of the Big Three has its peculiar type of moral condescension. None of them (nor the world, for that matter) has experience in genuine peace collectivism. Roosevelt wants the Atlantic Charter, but he probably can't get all of it, though he is in a better bargaining position than Woodrow Wilson, and a better bargainer. So then he returns to Washington, the drive for Dumbarton Oaks begins, and the fight starts. And don't forget the two-thirds Senate ratification rule.

I don't mean to be pessimistic. I listened to ex-isolationist Vandenberg last week when he made his encouraging proposal for guaranteed demilitarization of the Axis. It was a striking speech; he did a good job. But note three strings to the Vandenberg proposal: 1. He includes Japan. Is his guarantee conditional on Russia's making war on Japan? 2. He conditions approval of Dumbarton Oaks by asking inclusion of a clause saying immediate unilateral decisions (Poland; Greece) are "temporary," subject to later review. Would Russia accept such review? 3. And he indicates he won't approve giving the American representative on the proposed Dumbarton Oaks council authority to bind America to use of force against aggressors without first getting Senate approval.

Tall, drab, deaconlike, millionaire liberal James E. Murray came to the Senate in 1934 and after a decade of hardly making a headline has suddenly blossomed out with one of the most important long-term and provocative ideas in a generation—the "job-budget" bill. It assumes basic governmental responsibility for 60 million postwar jobs, ties directly into Mr. Roosevelt's inclusion of the "nation's budget" for the first time in his budget message, and is the equivalent on the American scene of what the Beveridge plan is for Britain. The Murray proposal has brought gratifying condemnation, almost instantly, from The New York Times and The Wall Street Journal, which is, of course, a hopeful send-off. I understand government economists are now hard at work on studies to support the Murray bill. Hearings will be held, Marriner Eccles, Alvin Hansen and others of like type will be called, along with antagonists of planning. It looks as though this issue of planned economy is about to find a legislative forum and be threshed out in exciting surroundings.

Mr. Eccles, incidentally, in the leading article in this month's Federal Reserve Bulletin, warns those who have economic and political power that if they accept the "defeatist" argument that we "cannot afford the goal of full employment because of the dictates of so-called 'sound finance' "—then they themselves are sponsors of "unsound finance," and "do not at heart believe in our economic system or in our democracy." The chairman of the Reserve Board points to the present glaring inequality of war sacrifice. The 11 million servicemen "have not shared in the veritable war boom which has enriched the home front." While they have been sent abroad to fight and die, "those who have stayed at home, safe and protected, have been provided with a higher over-all standard of living than the nation has ever before enjoyed. They have accumulated the greatest volume of savings in our history." Farmers, workers, corporations, business men are all, he says, on the whole better off than they have ever been. The stay-at-homes' prosperity is based on ownership of the shares of the gigantic national debt—which will pay them principal and interest. When the survivors of the 11 million come home they will have to help shoulder the burden of that debt—of which the fortunate stay-at-homes "are the principal owners." Are the so-called advocates of "sound finance" going to argue that, because of this debt, the returning 11 million can't be assured jobs? Well, we'll see.

Incidental Notes: Included on Montgomery Ward's 13-man board of directors are George Whitney, head of J. P. Morgan and Company, Silas Strawn, former American Bar Association and Chamber of Commerce of the United States head, P. R. Clarke, president of the City National Bank, David A. Crawford, head of Pullman, Inc., Charles F. Glore, investment banker, and others; stockholder pressure is being exerted to get them to restrain Sewell Avery, and save their company. . . . Some concern is expressed here over the recent pompous self-importance of Tom Connally, chairman of the Senate Foreign Relations Committee, whose attitude may endanger the peace treaty. . . . President Roosevelt proposed to limit war incomes (other than investment) to $25,000, but Congress rebelled; a recent guess is that there were upwards of 20,000 such incomes in 1944, after federal taxes, as against 14,000 in 1943. . . . Advertising SRO signs will be hung out in 1945 on even small-town independent radio stations; paper shortage is already making it hard for industrialists to spend all their advertising budgets in magazines and newspapers. . . . Russian students are sharpening knives for Will White's book on the Soviet, abstracted in The Reader's Digest; serious factual inaccuracies are charged. . . . Chamber of Commerce head Eric Johnston sponsored White's trip as his secretary. . . . Everybody is trying to streamline Congress: first Jimmie Byrnes in The American Magazine, this week the National Planning Association in its report, and on February 2 the American Political Science Association issues its study; all critics agree on the same faults—which only Congress can correct. . . . Hard luck for The Chicago Tribune, The New York Daily News and the Hearst

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press; no sooner had they bewailed General Montgomery's BBC "sneer" at American troops than it developed that the whole broadcast was a Nazi fake, possibly written by Donald Day, long head of The Tribune's foreign service and now a Nazi broadcaster.

Washington T. R. B.

Barrie's Children

The Hasty Heart, by John Patrick. Hudson Theatre, January 3, 1945.

MR. PATRICK'S PLAY about the Scottish soldier in the midst of his tent companions is of the lineage of Sir James Barrie, but that is nothing against it. Barrie taught us, or at least rubbed into our fancies and our indulgence, this business of the blunt Scot and his burly, tender heart. He taught us the ins and outs of that thorny path to love's bower or human cosiness. But Barrie did it with shameless coquetry and with a bag of tricks that were outrageously exploited. I sometimes remember how we sat and took it, and I am glad we did, for there were Barrie moments that were enchanting, never doubt that. And even when you were embarrassed a little for him, you let it pass, or let it pass unless the actors were bad; then you felt superior to the whole business, felt very Broadway, and doubtless were a bit obvious yourself about the whole matter.

Mr. Patrick in this Scots-hero piece of his is never breathtaking, as Barrie now and then could be, never truly inventive and soul-searching. On the other hand he is never banal and coquettish, over-tricky and over-sweet.

"The Hasty Heart" is really a gentle, touching story rather than a play or a stage-developed piece. But it is play enough to hold our attention and to call forth a good deal of agreeable acting. At times the acting as we get it at the Hudson lacks intention, lacks—perhaps as a matter of course these days—technical projection and intrinsic theatrical interest. But it is native, amiable and pleasant. If our young actors are not to be taken seriously as actors, it is agreeable to find them decent young Americans who can be recognized as such and who, while they fit into the story, do the country credit. It is not so much to our credit as artists but it is a good deal to our sum as a people that so many commendable and likable and decent young people can be assembled to perform amiably and cleanly, instead of some of the willowy asses we get from other capitals.

The play that Mr. Patrick has written is really a lovable story of a little Scots fellow who was illegitimate—the proportion of bastards in pious Puritan Scotland I may say was for many years exhilaratingly high—who has fought for everything he ever got, who snaps at every dog he sniffs, but of course who breaks your heart because all that dourness is combined with the fact that his motives are high, his ferocious proper pride is right, his decent honor within himself is what we believe in and like to think we stand by. Combined with this is the fact that when he comes into the hospital ward it is already settled that he has but a short time to live and the men there and the single nurse are asked to be kind to him. After all, our theatre is as a rule so cheap, punchy and tiresome that we may well stand by and applaud a play in which dear things are dear, and the tears of things are not so far away. I should certainly, if I were you, say go to "The Hasty Heart" and let it have its way.

The company for "The Hasty Heart" played in a good tone, for which you are thankful, and were diversified into types, with appropriate countries, oddities, clichés and what not, as you would expect. Mr. Richard Basehart, a newcomer, played the Scottish lead with much feeling and good sense and taste. Now and again the playwright forces the emotion, and this the actor has to deal with; but his performance has enough purity of intention and truth of feeling to bring real tears to the eyes of those who are touched by him and the story. STARK YOUNG

The Bandwagon

"Let's have all the white people vote irrespective as to whether any taxes have been paid or not," Talmadge said. . . . "The Negroes as a class don't care to vote anyway, unless they are encouraged by some communistic elements." – *Ex-Governor Eugene Talmadge of Georgia, favoring poll-tax repeal, as quoted in an AP dispatch from Atlanta.*

The worst rainstorm in nearly 25 years swept this area last night, demolishing villages, disrupting communications and forcing thousands of persons to cancel New Year's Eve celebrations. – *UP dispatch from Cairo, Egypt, to The Washington Post.*

NEW YEAR'S WAR
WORK HERE URGED
City and Visitors Prepare
for Sugar Bowl Game

– *Head and subhead in The New Orleans Times-Picayune.*

Just Behind the Front

The current retail black-market price for American cigarettes in Paris is from $2 to $3 a package. Chocolate bars that soldiers get in K rations sell for 80 cents a bar, and a 19-pound can of GI coffee for $300. – *Paris dispatch from John O'Reilly to The New York Herald Tribune.*

Bungling Bureaucracy Pays Off

When the government goes into business, it apparently isn't as critical of profits as it is when it goes over the books of private enterprise.

According to the figures just given out by the Secretary of Commerce, profits on the "big inch" pipe line are 110 percent of operating costs and on the "little inch" pipe line 167 percent of operating costs. – *An editorial in The New York Sun.*

Grounds for Divorce

A recent letter from her husband, Lt. George D. Steakley, told Nadel Steakley of Abilene [Texas] that her head will be painted on the nose of his plane, "The Purple Cow." – *UP dispatch from Abilene, Texas.*

Dangerous Trends: I

"We are going to do for Christians what the American Civil Liberties Union does for radicals. . . . There is a subtle, dangerous trend," he said, "to create the false impression that anti-Semitism is legally subversive." – *D. Scott Swain, a leader of the American Christian Civil Liberties Institute group, as quoted in The Chicago Sun.*

Our readers are invited to contribute to this column; $1 will be paid for each item used. Address Bandwagon, care of The New Republic. Please enclose the original clipping. – THE EDITORS

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Correspondence

The ICCASP

SIR: The ivory tower has been condemned by its former inhabitants. Cognizant of their responsibilities as citizens of a democracy, the members of the arts, sciences and professions have abandoned the house of isolationism to join actively in the fight for freedom and lasting peace.

Uniting in our own organization, we of the cultural fields conducted a successful election campaign as the Independent Voters' Committee of the Arts and Sciences. Now we are continuing our association as the Independent Citizens' Committee of the Arts, Sciences and Professions to meet the political challenge of the future.

This committee hopes to unite all forward-looking members of the arts, sciences and professions for concerted and effective political action. We shall work without party affiliations.

Our goals are the goals of all progressive-thinking people: swift and complete victory; durable peace; full employment in postwar America; the extension of democracy in our own country and abroad; and the interchange of ideas between men and women of the arts, sciences and professions in the United Nations. These goals must be obtained if we are to realize a world in which the creative talents and inquiring minds of all men may operate freely and in which all nations shall coöperate to maintain a world of liberty and justice.

We of the Independent Citizens' Committee of Arts, Sciences and Professions extend a cordial welcome to all of our colleagues and invite them to join with us to make this committee a strong and vital force for the future of this country and the world.

Momentous decisions which will shape the world of tomorrow are being made today. We must and can have a determining voice in these decisions.

JO DAVIDSON, Chairman,
Independent Citizens' Committee of the
New York City Arts, Sciences and Professions

A Hopeful Move in Washington State

SIR: There has been introduced into the Washington State legislature a bill which provides for the creation of one state board of higher education to replace the separate boards for each of the state-supported colleges. The board would consist of nine members to be appointed by the Governor subject to the confirmation of the senate. The terms of the board members are to be staggered so as to carry a majority of them over one gubernatorial term of four years. Further to free them from political domination, members may not be dismissed without a hearing before a judicial tribunal to be appointed by the Chief Justice of the State Supreme Court, the tribunal to have final authority in deciding the merits of a Governor's charges.

The proposed law contains provisions for the representation on the board of the sectional and occupational interests of the state's population. For example, it stipulates that two of the members are to be chosen from the ranks of labor, which should tend to counteract the policies of the traditional board which is dominated by reactionary, big-business interests. A further section of the bill sets up faculty advisory committees in each institution, which are to have a definite hand in the determining of educational policies in the respective schools.

With the recent election of Mon C. Wallgren as Governor of the State of Washington, and the election of a progressive-minded legislature, the situation is ripe for a fundamental overhauling of the system of administering higher education. If the plan becomes law, it may very well be used as a "model" by other states, where, as in Washington, there have been instances of gross political interference in education with the resultant blacking out of the sacred principle of academic freedom.

New York City WILLIAM H. FISHER

Mr. Lippmann and a United Nations Council

SIR: May I be allowed to correct a statement which occurs in the leading article of your issue of January 8, 1945. You state, "We can work for the immediate creation of a United Nations Council. Mr. Walter Lippmann argues that such a council is undesirable because it would force out into the open major conflicts that had better be left undisturbed until the war is over. . . ."

My argument is almost the exact opposite of this. I have contended, as a matter of fact beginning in the winter of 1940, that the main issues of a settlement must be met during the war and cannot be postponed until after the armistice. I have argued further that our official policy of postponing these settlements until after the war was an error and is the real obstacle to the creation of a United Nations Council. I have said (December 28, 1944) that, "The fallacy of thinking that political issues could be postponed until after the war is the real reason why we have not established a United Nations Council among our allies." Until the policy of postponing settlements is abandoned, a United Nations Council could not settle issues that need to be settled.

Washington, D. C. WALTER LIPPMANN

From a Friendly Reader

SIR: The New Republic has been a perfect feast to me. How stable, reliable and dignified it is! And how straight and unchangingly it sees the point! I wish I could say something that would influence everyone to read it; we would then be better prepared to deal intelligently and constructively with our endless and tremendous problems. At this time, more than ever, it is invaluable and indispensable.

Kaweah, Calif. IDA MAYER

From The New Republic Mail Bag

Dr. Taraknath Das, of New York City, thanking us for the editorial on political prisoners in India (The New Republic, January 8), also welcomes the appointment of Professor Merle Curti, of the University of Wisconsin, as the first visiting professor of American culture in Indian universities under the auspices of the Watumull Foundation.

The Institute for Education by Radio of Ohio State University, has announced the Edward L. Bernays Radio Award of $1,000, to be given the individual responsible for the radio program or series doing most "to further democracy in America." Norman Corwin, H. V. Kaltenborn and Raymond Gram Swing are the judges. Additional information may be had from the Institute's director, Mr. I. Keith Tyler, Ohio State University, Columbus 10, Ohio.

Ruth K. Siler writes that she and a group of others are publishing a new magazine, Many Voices, which will tell the truth about our time and our world through stories, poems, vignettes, essays and pictures. The address is 30 East Twenty-ninth Street, New York 10, N. Y.

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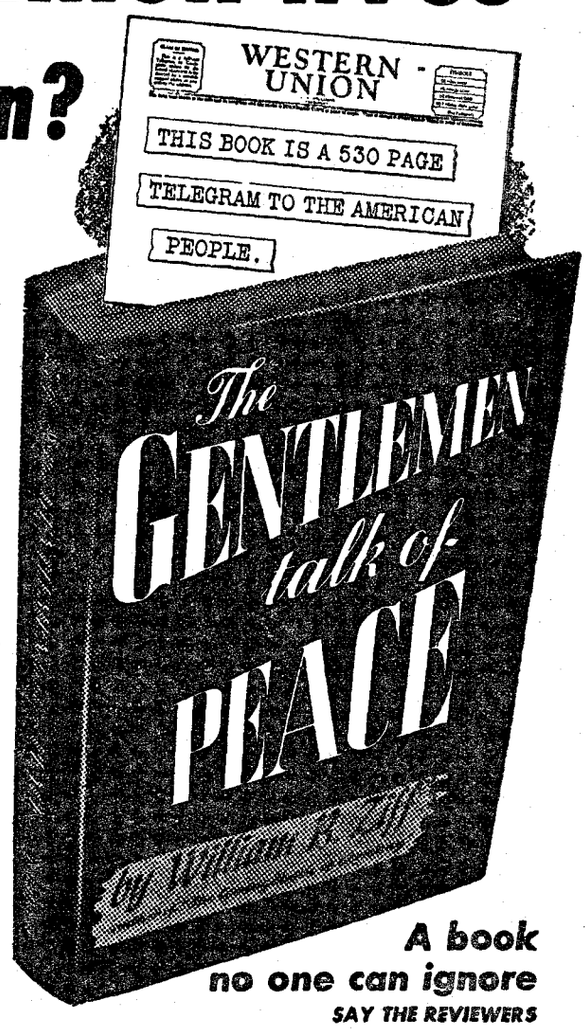

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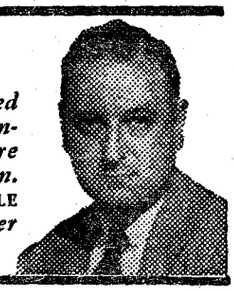

William Bernard Ziff is a distinguished military historian and authority on international affairs, whose views are highly regarded in official Washington. He is the author of THE COMING BATTLE OF GERMANY, *an outstanding best seller of 1942.*

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Books in Review

The Return of Henry James

THERE is a rough justice in the fate of literary reputations, if we follow them through a period of years. Most—not all—of the true ones survive, even when they have been buried and must be exhumed from a mountain of trash. The false and fabricated reputations are eventually winnowed out and blown away; often without a single hot blast from the critics, they crumble like very old newspapers. Do you remember the days when "Jurgen" was regarded as a profound and devilishly clever work, the lasting ornament of American letters? Or the days when Dreiser *and* Joseph Hergesheimer were described in the same breath as the two living masters of the novel? Or the somewhat later days when Hemingway *and* Louis Bromfield were coupled by the critics as the two giants of a new generation? A short time ago in The New Yorker, Edmund Wilson wrote an essay ridiculing Bromfield, and most people wondered why he devoted so much space to proving what even the little children and professors knew. Where are the debunking biographers now, who won such easy triumphs over the bearded New England worthies? Where are the proletarian geniuses flung upward from the working class like Venus from the waves, all garlanded with college degrees and Brooks Brothers ties? Some of them were honest talents and have been unjustly forgotten, but in that case they need not worry too much; the world that neglected them may end by overwhelming them with praise.

Emerson's law of compensation seems to operate in such matters. If an author is overvalued during his lifetime, he will be blamed and overblamed after his death. If a great author goes unread, like Blake or Melville, he will end by being raised above his contemporaries. That was the fate of Donne, who was seldom mentioned for two centuries after his death and whose work was at one time unobtainable except in the big libraries; by 1930 the wheel had turned and he was not only valued at his own great worth but exalted as a greater poet than Milton. Some reputations climb imperceptibly, reach what appears to be their proper level and hold it through decades or even centuries. Others are thrown out of balance at the very beginning and never regain it; they come down through the years like a skier down a slope that frightens him, making wild sweeps from shadow into sun.

Henry James is the great example in our time of an author whose reputation fluctuated during his life, declined before his death and has now reached a higher point than ever before. Out of all the books he wrote—and he was almost as prolific as Horatio Alger—there was only one short novel, "Daisy Miller," that became what we would now call a best-seller. Only two of his novels—"The Portrait of a Lady" in 1881 and "The Ambassadors" in 1903—were greeted, in publishers' cant, "with a chorus of critical approval." These two dates twenty years apart marked the high points of his career. James thought it had reached its lowest point in 1895, when he was hissed and hooted from the stage after the only performance of "Guy Domville." He wrote to his old friend Howells: "I *have* felt, for a long time past, that I have fallen upon evil days—every sign or symbol of one's being in the least *wanted*, anywhere or by anyone having so utterly failed." But a worse blow was to strike him twelve years later, with the publication of the New York Edition of his novels and tales, for which he had revised the style of his earlier work and had written a preface to each novel or volume of stories. The whole was intended to serve as "a sort of comprehensive manual or *vade-mecum*" for students of fiction, besides preserving his work in lasting form, and it didn't quite go unnoticed. The Nation and The New York Times Book Review faithfully and briefly mentioned each successive volume; but there was, says Richard Nicholas Foley, who has written a thesis on the treatment of James's work by American periodicals, little or no serious discussion of the edition as a whole. It might as well have been buried in a vault in Kentucky, like the world's supply of gold.

Today the New York Edition is out of print and practically unobtainable; when a book dealer manages to find a set, he can put almost any price on it that he has the courage to ask. All of James's books in their original editions are collectors' items, even the critical works and the travel sketches. His work is more widely discussed and has more admirers than during his lifetime. It has become a commonplace remark to call him the greatest or even the only American novelist.

Of course there are other reasons for this posthumous glory besides the quality of his work and besides the law of literary compensation. The return of Henry James is also the almost mathematical result of two tendencies among American readers. The first is a literary nationalism that has been growing from year to year; one sign of it is the new courses in American literature that were being offered, before the war, in all our universities. After a century and a half of living in the future, we suddenly faced about and began the search for a "usable past"; and very soon we discovered that James, in spite of being an expatriate, was the most usable of all the dead American novelists. He was the only novelist (except for Cooper and Simms and Howells, all far beneath him in talent) who planned and executed his life work on the scale of the masters; he was the only one to achieve a continuous, unified, organic career.

The second tendency that contributes to James's reputation today is the general reaction against political or social standards in literature. It began simply as a reaction against proletarian novels and Marxian criticism, but by now it has developed much further, into a reaction against historical or genetic criticism of any type. Nothing satisfies its leaders except absolute, permanent, unchanging moral and esthetic values. Works of art are being judged in and for themselves, as if independent of any social background; and the works most likely to be praised are those most widely removed from any social movement and least contaminated

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with ideas. There seems to be no taint of them in James's novels. He never mentions social forces, although they figure in his work indirectly and almost secretly. He is the great example in this country of the "pure" novelist.

His working notebooks, as quoted by F. O. Matthiessen, abound in expressions of priestly or soldierly devotion to his craft. "A *mighty will*," he wrote for his own eyes while working on "The Bostonians," "there is nothing but that! The integrity of one's will, purpose, faith!"—"Oh art, art," he wrote a few years later, "what difficulties are like thine; and, at the same time, what consolation and encouragements, also, are like thine? Without this, for me, the world would be, indeed a howling desert."—"But courage, courage, and forward, forward," he wrote before starting "The Tragic Muse." "If one must generalize, that is the only generalization. There is an immensity to be done, and, without being presumptuous, I shall at the worst do part of it. But all one's manhood must be at one's side." His two younger brothers had served in the Civil War, and Henry apparently had felt a sense of inadequacy or even guilt at being physically unable to join them. It was in the act of writing that he discovered a moral equivalent for the hardships and dangers of the military life. And a new generation of brave but quite unwarlike soldiers has come to admire him as a hero of art.

Four books about Henry James have appeared in the last few months, with others promised for the future. The first of the four is the least important. It is a doctoral thesis called "Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916," a title so compendious that you might say Mr. Foley had reviewed his own book, besides reviewing the reviews of Henry James. With admirable dull patience, he has listed them all and quoted from scores of them; but he fails to draw the obvious conclusion that the record as a whole is one of incomprehension and neglect.

"The Great Short Novels of Henry James,"[2] edited by Philip Rahv, is a collection of ten stories between twenty and fifty thousand words in length. The ten are "Madame de Mauves" (1873), "Daisy Miller" (1878), "An International Episode" (1878), "The Siege of London" (1882), "Lady Barberina" (1884), "The Author of Beltraffio" (1884), "The Aspern Papers" (1888), "The Pupil" (1891), "The Turn of the Screw" (1898) and "The Beast in the Jungle" (1903). The text in each case is that of the original edition, rather than the revised text of the New York Edition. Mr. Rahv doesn't take a clear stand on the question whether the revisions improved or ruined the stories; but he says that the earlier version "enables the reader to gain a direct impression of the development of James's style." The biographical introduction to the volume and the prefatory notes to the separate stories are intended to furnish information rather than to serve as critical estimates; they are helpful as well as being modest. But considering that Mr. Rahv hopes to show us a picture of James's development, it seems unfortunate that he included nothing that was written after 1903: for example, "The Jolly Corner" (1908) or "A Round of Visits" (1910), the last story that James finished. The two limits set on the length of the stories may not have been the wisest possible; some of James's best were either a little longer than 50,000 words (like "The Reverberator" and "The Spoils of Poynton") or a little shorter than 20,000 (like "The Next Time," "The Altar of the Dead" and half a dozen others). But my only real quarrel with a book I am delighted to own is over its rather pretentious title, for which Mr. Rahv may not be responsible. The adjective "great" seems a little outsize or overblown when applied to entertaining tales like "Lady Barberina"; and I question the use of the definite article. "*The* Great Short Novels of Henry James" is a title implying that all his other stories are not great, or not short, or not novels.

Among the "Stories of Writers and Artists"[1] that Mr. Matthiessen has collected, there is only one—"The Author of Beltraffio"—that also appears in Mr. Rahv's anthology. But the others are all good stories, and "great" wouldn't be too big a word for some of them. James wrote extremely well about artists and writers; he wrote with a personal feeling that was sometimes lacking in his tales about English lords and American debutantes, where observation took the place of passion. More than half the stories in Mr. Matthiessen's collection were written in the middle 1890's, when James was deeply worried by his lack of success and by the fact that he had ceased to be a lion of the literary salons. In "The Death of the Lion" (1894), he revenged himself on English hostesses by describing the fate of Neil Paraday, who was taken up with such violence by the great Mrs. Wimbush that he relapsed into a fatal illness. While he was dying upstairs in her country house, the hostess managed to lose the manuscript of his last book and the guests turned with relief to their new literary idols: Guy Walsingham, the author of "Obsessions," who proved to be a pretty girl with cropped hair, and Dora Forbes, who was a bald man with a big red moustache. In "The Next Time" (1895), James described his own predicament by telling the story of another talented author with a genius for being unpopular. Poor Ray Limbert tried to write an obvious, flat, exciting book for the general public, but it turned out to be unsalable; by inadvertence or psychological necessity, Limbert had produced "an unsparing, a shameless, merciless masterpiece." And the narrator concludes, "You can't make a sow's ear of a silk purse." James had made the same statement about himself, in a letter to his brother William.

The great argument over James is whether he lost his talent as a result of alienating himself from America, as Van Wyck Brooks asserts in "The Ordeal of Henry James" and "New England: Indian Summer," or whether his last books were also his best. This is the question treated in "Henry James: The Major Phase,"[2] also by F. O. Matthiessen, which is by far the most important of these four books and which, with its thesis, I hope to discuss next week.

MALCOLM COWLEY

[1] Criticism in American Periodicals of the Works of Henry James from 1866 to 1916, by Richard Nicholas Foley. Washington: The Catholic University of America Press. 175 pages. Price not stated.

[2] The Great Short Novels of Henry James, edited by Philip Rahv. New York: The Dial Press. 812 pages. $4.

[1] Stories of Writers and Artists, by Henry James. Edited by F. O. Matthiessen. Norfolk, Conn.: New Directions. 346 pages. $3.50.

[2] Henry James: The Major Phase, by F. O. Matthiessen. New York: The Oxford University Press. 206 pages. $2.50.

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The Spanish Nightmare

Interlude in Spain, by Charles d'Ydewalle. Translated by Eric Sutton. London: The Macmillan Company. Eight shillings, sixpence.

ONCE upon a time there was a Belgian journalist and writer, a man secure behind the hedges of his belief in Divine Justice administered by the Roman Catholic Church, the King as the rightful leader of his people, and an ordered, serene life under the guidance of those two authorities. The writer had clear, open eyes and an interest in beautiful, soul-stirring ideas such as he could fit into his aristocratic vision of the world, and for a long time his eyes reported to him only what was complementary to the vision. When Franco, Falange and the Traditionalists of Spain rose against the young Spanish Republic, the Belgian was asked by a young airman: "Tell me how I can enrol myself in the service of Spain? . . ." He gave his advice, and, in his own words, the young man "went forth like a paladin"—to serve Franco. The journalist had himself been in Franco's Spain during "the heroic years" and found uplift in the march tune of the Navarrese Division when its soldiers "sped like winged creatures into the firing line," against the "Reds." So, when M. d'Ydewalle had to flee from his own defeated country to cross from Southern France into Spain on his way to Gibraltar, freedom and continued battle, he was unprepared for a meeting with his friend Franco's justice. His was, as he says himself, "utter ignorance."

Without permits or papers, gayly certain of the rules of his world, d'Ydewalle was detained by the Civil Guard in Barcelona in November, 1941. He considered it "an aberration on the part of fate." When he found himself in the Barcelona Model Jail, face to face with political prisoners condemned to death, he saw it as an evil dream which sends you to Hell, "where you ought not to be at all," since you are innocent, while "almost all, by some misdeed or other, have deserved this descent into the night."

In the Model Jail and in the concentration camp of Miranda del Ebro, d'Ydewalle lived through eight months of spiritual torture: he was too honest to deny what his eyes and ears told him of the foundations of fascist Spain, and what he saw cracked the foundations of his own vision of society. Had he not actively supported Franco's side because he believed it nearest to his ideals of God, King and Country? As soon as he was free, he attempted to patch up the breach in his mental defense and to get rid of the Spanish "nightmare" (you call "nightmare" what you cannot accept as a reality), by writing this book about the "interlude" (you call "interlude" something which does not last and does not belong to the pattern of your life). The book is a despairing self-defense and an upright, if reluctant, testimony, and important on both counts, since it reveals not only fascist Spain, but also the mentality of those non-fascists who made the coming as well as the continued existence of fascism possible, because they were unable to accept the message of people outside their own caste. Each chapter carries the imprint of its author's struggle against the reality of what he wants to be a mere dream of Hell, and each bears, to his honor, the imprint of his defeat.

What d'Ydewalle saw in the *Carcel Modelo* was this:

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the building, planned for about 700 inmates, contained more than 8,000 prisoners at the time he was there although their number diminished through transfers, reprieves —to labor battalions—and executions. As he says, "The sum of those shot, five or six a week, was steadily maintained." He heard the door of the condemned Republicans' cell clank open in the night, and he heard a harsh voice reading out the names of those who would be shot at dawn by the seashore. Only Saturday night was quiet, "for Franco's justice did not shoot on Sundays, nor on holidays." In his imagination, he suffered the silent torture of the men waiting for their names to ring out. When the door of his own cell opened, he would see the mattresses of the executed lying at the threshold of a door or two, often as many as six "poor inanimate objects."

In self-protection, the author keeps on reminding himself that those men were there because of "some misdeed or other." He argues that "Negrín's Cheka had merely been replaced by the Cheka of Serrano Suñer," that the men whom he is willing to credit with the mutilation of murdered priests were, after all, "terrorists, now conquered and subjected to another terror, more systematized, more German in fact, while they awaited a fresh vengeance." Franco's "justice" is to him only vengeance with another name, but so as to guard himself against too much compassion for its victims, he stresses that "after each execution the survivors resolved upon terrible revenge in the days to come."

Even while he keeps his distance from the victims, he is cut to the quick by the blasphemous misuse of his faith in Franco's machinery of legalized cruelty: "Seldom, we must admit, has a Christian soldier, claiming to serve the Catholic religion, done it such mortal disservice." He saw the images of "Agonizing Christs, Sacred Hearts, Our Ladies of Mercy," decorating prison and concentration camp, while priests without charity read Mass, served by prisoners cursing under their breath. He records that in Barcelona prison there were no more than 60 practising Catholics among 8,000 prisoners, and that, according to the observation of a Belgian priest whom he met in Miranda del Ebro, only four out of 1,900 prisoners performed the Easter duties demanded by their religion in the Madrid prison of Santa Engracia. D'Ydewalle tries to think with charity of the Spanish priests who "did their best under a regime whose backing did them more harm than good," but confesses that he was shocked at "such an allegiance—priests who took the side of Hitler and Mussolini!"

In short, the author's sharp eyes observed the interlacing of clergy and fascism in Spain, and its inevitable result, the further estrangement of the victims of the regime from such a Church. It gave him exquisite spiritual pain. But he still speaks of a Republican—whom he had liked out of a fellowship of caste for his impeccable distinction and courtesy, but who had made mock of the last Mass he had ever been forced to attend before his execution—as of a blasphemer who might be forgiven by the Great Judge for "an ultimate gracious gesture," and because "there were occasions when he wished his fellows well." This is to say: d'Ydewalle refuses to understand that men driven to despise a venal clergy may be in prison or may face a firing squad precisely because they "wish their fellows well" and believe in that Spain of good will which Franco's crusade defeated, but did not vanquish.

There is a curious episode in this book. A Belgian Barnabite preacher had come into conflict with the Belgian fascists, the Rexists, and was therefore hounded by the German authorities; he tried to make his way through Spain and her jails as a refugee commercial traveler, but was discovered. Interrogated by a Spanish and a German police official in a touching alliance—the German had belonged to the Condor Legion during the civil war—and sent from one sordid prison to the other, he won the affection of his anti-clerical fellow prisoners, because—as d'Ydewalle says ingenuously—"for the first time it appeared that the Church was not wholly involved with the Fascists." This priest passed through the Torrijos prison, where "it often happened that the executioner, when operating in the torture chamber, went too far." One man died there, mad, a few weeks after he had been subjected to the ordeal of the electric chair.

After telling Father Van Nekker's story as he had heard it from him, d'Ydewalle bursts out:

> And yet the chaplain [of the prison] inveighed from his pulpit against his congregation. . . . Why oh why, that insensate exhibition of all that was vilest in the history of Spain? . . . What evil demon impelled these men devoid of faith to inflict such martyrdom on other unbelievers, under the pictured eyes of Him who said . . . "Love one another"? . . . That all the generous blood shed by so many gallant Catholics of Spain should have led to such subservience to the Gestapo is one of the cruelest humiliations that a Christian soldier can conceive.

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To have inflicted this humiliation on him is the bitter reproach the author launches against his jailers. He would have preferred not to know of the unholy alliance between the Sacred Heart symbol and the Falange yoke-and-arrows, not to have seen men waiting for an arbitrary death at dawn, soldiers groveling in the mud for a rotten orange, children in uniform selling their very souls for a chunk of bread and a copper. He would have liked to preserve his belief in the noble ideals with which he had endowed Franco eight years ago. As it is, he takes shelter behind the vague vision of a traditional monarch restored to Spain, and having spoken his honest testimony, prepares to shed the nightmare.

I do not think that he can ever shed it. He has become passively one of us, however strong his idiosyncrasies, his aristocratic creed, his anti-Semitism, his contempt for the "rabble": he has crossed the frontiers by suffering with the "legions of the damned" and by telling what he saw in their midst. He has been made aware of the rift in his world through the ordeal of Spain.

ARTURO BAREA

Tomorrow's Dream

Yesterday's Children. Drawings by Pavel Tchelitchew, with an accompanying poem by Parker Tyler. New York: Harper and Brothers. Unpaged. $3.

TRYING TO MAKE A NOTE on this book, in the hope solely of bringing it to the attention of the right people, makes one almost long for our grandfathers' days, when drawing was thought to be that process by which we reproduced something else. That was perfect comfort for the critic and art windbag, since the problem of resemblance, even stylish resemblance, is comparatively simple to discuss and have opinions about.

But drawing in the sense of that life between lines, of vibrating masses, elusive suggestions of volume, of essential characteristics and indication, is practically outside discussion. I should be a plain fool to try to review these thirty pages of drawings by Mr. Pavel Tchelitchew. I can say that there are thirty of them, and that they are from among the preliminary drawings for his painting, "Hide and Seek," at the Museum of Modern Art. To capture the trembling line by which stalks of wheat rise in their growth toward the sun, rise and shake and battle in the eyes of a child, and to blow life into leaves till they and the child are one, is something too delicate and precise to convey in words. We have had Arthur Rackham and other fanciful artists, fiddling prettily with that combined world of the child and the leaf and tree and the light, but it was all, so far as I have seen it, superimposed, merely added fancy and nursery flirtation. These drawings of Mr. Tchelitchew's, though they are not like Blake's drawings, or derived from him, have something of the innate identification of nature and the imagination that is in Blake's poems.

Mr. Tyler's accompanying poem follows elusively the drawings, sometimes hauntingly, and begins and leaves off with them as a child might let it do.

> Pinned on the dark, the strawberry leaves
> Pinned on the light, the Queen Anne's Lace.

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The Negro's Share

The Negro in American Life, by John Becker. Preface by Lillian Smith. New York: Julian Messner, Inc. 53 pages. $1.

THIS pictorial word-sketch of the Negro in America does in fifty-three pages what books ten times its length and more have tried to do with only limited success—bring to the great mass of the American public the real facts about the dark tenth of our population. On these fifty-odd pages the Negro's origins, place in American and world history, contributions to civilization and culture, outstanding personalities and present status and role nationally and internationally are graphically, honestly and realistically portrayed in a manner that even a pre-school child cannot fail to comprehend. Visual education has proved its worth as an instructive medium and this booklet utilizes that method with telling effect.

"The main reason for this [volume] is to make us think—to make us think straight," says the author. But it does more than this. People are more likely to reconsider their long held views and opinions when they can actually see things in their proper context. This picture-form monograph depicts the Negro's proper place in the framework of American life so clearly, concisely and factually as not to be misconstrued nor misunderstood by any individual of average intelligence. He who reads it will not only be made to think straight, but will be able to *see straight* the factual relationships of the colored man in our national existence. He will be made to see that the Negro, like any other citizen, has done his share, and maybe more, to make America the great world leader she is today.

The Council Against Intolerance in America, realizing how important an understanding of these facts is to the common welfare of the nation, brought out this unique work as a result of an exhibit of placards at the Art of This Century Gallery in New York City. The showing caused so much interest that the publishers concluded that the compilation of pictorial evidence deserved the permanence of book form. For as the country plans and prepares to live again in what is hoped will be a thriving postwar period, America knows that the so-called race problem must be cleared up, that she must first put her own house in order and practise the democracy she preaches. This abbreviated source book should be of immense help in the attempt to make this hope for a peaceful and prosperous future a living reality.

HUGH H. SMYTHE

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